

The Nation and The Athenæum

THE NATION. VOL. XXXVI., No. 4.]

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1924.

[THE ATHENÆUM. No. 4930.]

CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
EVENTS OF THE WEEK	139	FROM ALPHA TO OMEGA. By Omicron	154
SHOULD LIBERALS VOTE TORY?	142	"ON THE COLD HILLSIDE." Poem by George Rylands ...	154
COOLIDGE, DAVIS, LA FOLLETTE	143	THE WORLD OF BOOKS :—	
BACKING A WINNER. By a Cheered Countryman ...	144	Travellers' Tales. By Leonard Woolf	155
LIFE AND POLITICS. By A. G. G.	145	REVIEWS :—	
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR : The Liberal Party and Private Enterprise (The Hon. R. H. Brand); "A False Step at Geneva" (Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, Leonard Woolf, and A. Leaguette); "The American Intelligentsia" (S. K. Ratcliffe)	147-149	The Caliphate. By Arnold J. Toynbee	156
NIGHT AND DAY IN ANGKOR. By Stella Benson ...	150	Mr. de la Mare in Fairyland. By V. Sackville-West ...	158
MAXIMS OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. Selected and Translated by Richard Aldington	151	Verisimilitude. By Edwin Muir	158
THE MASTER-MICROPHONE AND THE ELECTOR. By J. C. W. Reith	152	Two Years' Sailing	160
		"Land Beyond." By Edmund Candler	160
		Trotsky on Life	162
		Posters	162
		NOVELS IN BRIEF	164
		BOOKS IN BRIEF	164
		FINANCE AND INVESTMENT. By S. R. C.	166

All communications and MSS. should be addressed to the Editor, THE NATION AND THE ATHENÆUM, 10, Adelphi Terrace, W.C.2.

EVENTS OF THE WEEK

IN one respect the present General Election must surely be unique. In the old days the speeches of the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition partook largely of the character of a continuous public debate. Each attempted to answer the points made by the other; and the controversy did something to elucidate the issues and to supply at least the illusion that the electors were expected to record their votes on the basis of reasoned argument. But Mr. Ramsay MacDonald makes virtually no attempt to answer the criticisms of his principal opponents. He goes about repeating his two favourite arguments for the Russian Loan, (1) that it is a case, not of "just guaranteeing a loan," but merely of guaranteeing the amount which the Soviet Government is able to raise (as though the British Government guarantee would come as a complete surprise to adventurous investors who had already taken up the loan on the sole credit of the Soviet Government); (2) that lending money to the Soviet Government is really the same thing as investing it in British industry, because two-thirds of the loan is to be used to buy British goods. Never before, surely, has a Prime Minister relied on such pure and unadulterated nonsense as the mainstay of his case. No one who is not half-witted can think it anything but nonsense. Mr. MacDonald is not half-witted, and his Labour audiences cannot be entirely so. But they seem quite satisfied with the diet that he gives them. This willingness to accept any sort of stuff in place of reasoned argument is a most significant phenomenon, reflecting partly no doubt the sectarianism of the Labour Party, but partly, if we are not mistaken, the anti-intellectualist reaction of the twentieth century.

One paradoxical result of Minority Government is that the issues upon which an election is inevitably and properly fought have little or no connection with the issues which engage the attention of the new Parliament. The last General Election turned mainly upon the issue of Protection; but the Parliament which followed

was mainly concerned with housing and international questions. The present struggle is over the Russian Treaties and Socialism, but it is practically certain that neither of these subjects will be live issues in the new House of Commons. A Conservative Government seems inevitable, and the really important question is whether it will have a clear majority or be dependent upon Liberal support to keep it in office. In either event, the House is likely to be occupied largely with proposals which the country rejected last year and is ignoring this year, i.e., Imperial Preference, and Protection in the guise of Safeguarding Industries. There is scope for much mischievous interference with trade under these two headings, and Conservative candidates who seek Liberal votes should be examined "tightly and closely" as to the interpretation which they give to them.

Another matter upon which Conservative leaders are strangely silent is the policy of their party with respect to the House of Lords. If this election should give them a clear majority, the party managers will undoubtedly seek to entrench themselves in power by restoring the Lords' veto before another appeal is made to the country. This has long been a cherished aim of that astute tactician Lord Younger, and it received the unanimous support of the National Unionist Association only two or three weeks ago. It would, of course, be veiled by proposals for the "Reform" of the House of Lords, but no change in the composition of the Upper House would make an extension of its present powers acceptable to those Liberals who remember the constitutional struggles of 1910. There is a real danger that the great work achieved by Liberalism at that time may be undone through lack of vigilance at this election, and no Conservative should receive Liberal votes unless he will give a specific pledge to oppose any legislation having that result.

Lord Birkenhead has done his best to strike the basest note in the election, and he is a past-master in

offensive oratory. Speaking of Mr. MacDonald, he said:—

"I charge him deliberately with this, that from the first moment of the war to the Armistice there was nothing which he could say to embarrass the cause of the British arms that he did not say—there was nothing that he could do to assist the German cause that he did not do. . . . He was the man who vied with Sir Roger Casement in disservice to Britain."

Such statements as this would have marked a man as unbalanced by war-fever in the heat of the struggle; to make them now for electioneering purposes is a form of oratorical rowdiness more degrading to public life than any physical violence.

Amidst all the bitterness and confusion the only piece of constructive work of any importance that has emerged is the Liberal land scheme, which is discussed at length by a contributor in another column. Two facts, we believe, are undisputed: first, that the rural land of this country, as a whole, is grossly under-cultivated, and, secondly, that you will never get this remedied and sufficient capital and energy put into agriculture until the farmer has far better security against the raising of rent and the sale of the land "over his head" than he can now get. The providing of such security by means of cultivating ownership is the main principle of the scheme. The only hostile criticism of any importance that has yet appeared has been that of Mr. Pretymann and his friends of the Land Union, who desire to preserve the *status quo*. They complain that the scheme is vote-catching, and talk a great deal of the Whitehall standard, which in fact is not proposed. The standard of cultivation that will be required is to be fixed by the best opinion of the district.

Mr. Baldwin's programme of "inquiry" into food prices and other matters has provoked some ridicule even in Conservative quarters. To advocate "inquiry" without even a vague indication of the sort of action that may be taken is, indeed, to suggest that you feel that something ought to be done, and that you have not the faintest idea of what to do. Moreover, the Linlithgow Committee has already "inquired" into the problem of food prices; and there is obviously nothing to be gained by appointing another *ad hoc* Committee to do its work over again. But the growing tendency of public men to resort to the formula of "inquiry" is a significant phenomenon. The old haphazard methods by which party programmes were put together are totally unsuited for devising rational policies for dealing with the complex social problems of the day. The Liberal Party has shown itself alive to this deficiency; and the Liberal Summer School movement and the institution of special Committees to work out policies on coal, land, and education represent an attempt to meet it. But it is no less vital that the Government service should be equipped with more adequate machinery for investigation than it at present possesses. *Ad hoc* Committees or Royal Commissions do not suffice to meet our modern needs. Sir William Beveridge advocated in *THE NATION*, after the last election, the creation of what he termed an Economic General Staff. Some such organ for the continuous and systematic investigation of economic problems has become an indispensable requirement of Government. The model of the Committee of Imperial Defence should, in our judgment, be closely followed. We could wish that party leaders would place an Economic General Staff in the forefront of their programmes.

On Monday, October 20th, President Ebert dissolved the Reichstag, and the general election is fixed

for December 7th. In the meantime, the Cabinet of Herr Marx is to carry on the Government. The crisis has its origin in the struggle that took place over acceptance of the Dawes scheme. That scheme was passed by the present Government, a coalition of the Democrats and the Industrialists (People's Party), with a measure of Nationalist support, and to purchase this support Herr Stresemann, a member of the People's Party, promised that the Nationalists should receive portfolios in a reconstructed Cabinet. To this undertaking the other groups in the coalition refused to consent, the more so as the Nationalists demanded portfolios for men who represented the extreme Right wing of the party, and had voted against the Dawes Bill. In these circumstances, it was clear that no Cabinet that could be formed would command a reliable majority, and the President resolved on a dissolution to end the deadlock.

In the confused state of the German parties any attempt to forecast the result of the elections would be singularly rash, and the optimism displayed in Paris appears somewhat premature. In their election manifesto the Nationalists have attacked the Government for failing to secure modifications of the Dawes scheme; but there seems to be small probability of such a swing to the Right as would bring open repudiation of the scheme within the range of practical politics. The real danger is that the infusion of a strong Nationalist element into the Cabinet might result in such administrative opposition to the working of the scheme as to imperil its success and revive the bitterness of Franco-German animosity. That danger can only be wholly averted by the return of a clear majority for the existing coalition, and the German democratic parties have proclaimed that the election is little less than a referendum on the Dawes scheme. It is significant that President Ebert appears to share their views.

The dominant issue of the recent Swedish elections was the reduction of armament expenditure. The Conservative Government fell because it proposed to defer any decision on this subject until further light was thrown on Swedish responsibilities by the outcome of the Geneva Protocol and the proposal for a disarmament conference. The new Socialist Cabinet under M. Branting is pledged to immediate reductions that will bring the military burden into closer relation with the resources of the country and the changed outlook in foreign affairs. M. Branting states, however, that these reductions will in no way prejudice the responsibilities of Sweden as a member of the League of Nations, or the international solution of the armament problem. Sweden will not, that is to say, follow the example of Denmark in uni-lateral disarmament. At the same time, the present proposals are very significant in view of the alarm excited in certain quarters by rumours of Russian designs on Northern Scandinavia, and by the possibilities of Russo-Finnish conflict over the Karelian question. It would appear that the Swedes refuse to attach undue weight to the propaganda of the Third International.

The tension in Iraq has now been relieved by the agreement of the Turkish Government that the present dispute with regard to the *status quo* on the northern frontier shall be referred to the extraordinary session of the Council of the League of Nations convened to deal with the adjudication of the boundary. It is particularly noteworthy that this decision was well received in the Turkish Press, and appears to have evoked no serious criticism in the Angora Parliament. There is,

therefore, every reason to hope that, should the Council decide against the Turkish claim with regard to the *status quo*, there will be no delay in withdrawing the troops from the neutral zone. The extraordinary session of the Council has already been convened, and will open at Brussels next Monday, so that an early decision on the immediate issue may be anticipated.

* * *

In the case of the Royal Mail steamer "Orduna," the United States Federal Court has decided that a ship cannot be held subject to forfeiture on the ground of liquor or narcotics being smuggled by members of the crew, unless there is proof of connivance by the owner or his agents. The decision appears to be based on common sense and equity, and will remove a ground of legitimate anxiety on the part of British shipowners. There is some talk of an appeal; but the bitterness of American feeling on the subject has been appreciably modified by the success which has recently attended the campaign against rum-running. By adding twenty 30-knot destroyers to the huge flotilla of three hundred and forty patrol boats engaged in this service, the American Government has sufficiently proved its determination to spare neither expense nor effort in enforcing the law, and with the greater freedom of action given it by the recent Liquor Treaties, there is good reason to hope that the organized smuggling which had become so serious a menace to British-American relations will soon be definitely broken.

* * *

The confused fighting in China shows no signs of drawing to an end either through decision or exhaustion. Enormous damage has been done to property in Canton by Sun Yat-sen's Yunnanese mercenaries, and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Hong-kong is taking steps for the relief of the victims; but the Governor has stated emphatically that no countenance will be given to any step savouring of intervention. In some quarters the conduct of Sir Francis Aglen, the Inspector-General of Chinese Customs, in the matter of the local customs loan has been represented as inconsistent with this policy of neutrality; but it seems clear that he had no option to refuse the request of what is, at present, the established Central Government, especially as the money is allocated for the pay of the police and other domestic services. A much more important incident, which really demands explanation, is the alleged supply by French firms of military aircraft and other war material to Chang Tso-lin, in contravention of the Arms Embargo Agreement. It is in Manchuria that the risk of external complications is greatest, and the developments in that quarter will be watched with anxiety.

* * *

The Law Society held its provincial meeting recently in Manchester, and, as is to be expected in a body so closely in touch with practical affairs, the subject-matters of discussion were of more than purely legal interest. Mr. Denis Hickey contributed a paper on the defects of Company Law. The control of private companies clearly needs tightening up. The family business in which all the shares save one are held by the husband seems an easy method for an insolvent trader to avoid the bankruptcy law. But we would draw particular attention to certain aspects of modern company practice upon which Mr. Hickey comments. The law, by insisting on the disclosure of certain facts in the prospectus, endeavours to secure that company promoters appealing to the public for subscription shall tell the whole truth. This unwelcome proclamation is now largely avoided in practice by the publication for general consumption of "Offers for

Sale," instead of the statutory prospectus. The investing public is thus deprived of much of the information necessary for a sound judgment upon the prospects of the undertaking. Where the company is formed for the purpose of amalgamating or controlling other companies, the investor is kept in a permanent state of ignorance. He has no access to the accounts of the subsidiary companies which form the combine. This secrecy makes it so much the easier to defraud the unwary. Mr. Hickey therefore makes two suggestions which we commend to the Lord Chancellor for his attention when he has finished with his simplification of the Law of Real Property (in seven Acts). An "Offer for Sale" should conform to a prospectus, and shareholders should be entitled to copies of the accounts of subsidiary companies.

* * *

The outstanding feature of the Dáil discussions on the Treaty (Amendment) Bill was President Cosgrave's earnest appeal for an agreed settlement of the boundary question. With great emphasis, Mr. Cosgrave declared his belief that the people of both North and South wanted an honourable peace, and appealed to Ulster to give tangible expression to this desire. In the Senate, after the Bill had been passed through all its stages, a resolution was carried by 20 votes to 6, affirming that an agreed settlement would best serve the interests of the country. While we believe it to be a clear duty of any British Government to take, without further delay, the necessary steps for establishing the Boundary Commission, there can be no question that a direct agreement between Ulster and the Free State is the more desirable solution. Mr. Cosgrave's appeal gives renewed hope that such an agreement may be possible; but nothing would do more to imperil the prospects of agreement than any uncertainty as to the British attitude towards our treaty obligations. Ulster will never come frankly into conference so long as there is a chance of the issue being postponed by failure to implement the Treaty. That is a consideration that should not be forgotten by the British electorate.

* * *

Our Irish Correspondent writes: "After a period of comparative inaction, Mr. de Valera has very successfully hurled a new bombshell into the Free State camp. By insisting on putting forward Republican nominees for Tyrone-Fermanagh and other constituencies in the six-county area, he has effectively prevented the orthodox Nationalists in the area from putting up a fight at all. They have, fortunately, had sense enough to refrain from provoking a three-cornered contest, but it is probable that they will refuse to vote for the de Valera candidates, so that the Unionists will have a sweeping victory. From the point of view of those who know the facts, this does not really matter much—personally, I think that no 'Nationalist' of any school should have taken part in this election—but it will be heralded to the world by the 'Morning Post' as a fresh proof of the homogeneity of 'Ulster,' and may have a prejudicial effect on the Boundary Commission. One cannot quite understand why Mr. de Valera should recognize the validity of the election when he refuses to admit the existence of a Border, but, of course, we all of us put English postage-stamps on letters in the old days, when we did not recognize the British Government! It remains now to be seen whether the Republican leader will venture himself within the area from which Sir Dawson Bates says that he is legally excluded, and whether, if he does so, he will be arrested. This would do a great deal to help Republicanism throughout Ireland, and it might also cause Sir James Craig and Mr. Cosgrave to feel like real brothers."

SHOULD LIBERALS VOTE TORY?

IN many parts of the country, the Conservative and Liberal organizations have made mutual arrangements for the withdrawal of candidates with the object of securing "a straight fight against Labour." These so-called "pacts," we observe, cause "pain" to Mr. Snowden, and are undoubtedly a source of uneasiness to a large number of excellent Liberals, to whom the old Coalition was anathema. For our part, we not only share the dislike of that particular Coalition; we reject as superficial, short-sighted, and disastrous the philosophy which regards Labour *versus* anti-Labour as the natural and essential cleavage of British post-war politics. But we cannot condemn the "pacts." At this particular election, the alignment of Conservatives and Liberals on the one hand against Labour on the other is a reaction to the logic of the situation as natural, and indeed as ineluctable, as was the decision of the Liberal Party at the beginning of this year to support the vote of censure on Mr. Baldwin's Government and thus give Labour its chance of office. The real cause of the present election is the policy of guaranteeing a loan to Russia, to which the Liberal Party has declared its emphatic opposition. It is perfectly true that there is not the smallest prospect of the Russian Treaties receiving the sanction of the new House of Commons; but that does not justify us in treating the issue as a minor one. When Governments dissolve in order to secure a mandate for particular policies, the electoral results are regarded mainly as the register of the public approval or disapproval of those policies. That must accordingly be the primary test by which members of any party cast their votes and determine their relations to other parties. A strict adherence to this simple rule is, in our judgment, the only way of steering a straight course amid the present political confusion. Everyone agrees that the Liberals will be bound, after the election is over, to turn the present Government out of office, and to support—if the situation requires it—a Conservative Government, as they have supported a Labour Government during the present year. With that prospect before us, as a not unlikely outcome of the election, it is absurd to suppose that there is anything immoral in the election "pacts."

It is well, we believe, to base immediate electoral action on the firm, if limited, ground of such simple constitutional proprieties rather than on attempts, which must necessarily be highly speculative, to forecast the remoter trend of British politics. But if we make such an attempt, we can see nothing to shake, and much to confirm, the view that we should welcome at this election the defeat of Labour candidates. We do not wish to see the Conservatives obtain an independent majority; but, short of that, it seems to us desirable from every point of view that they should gain as many seats as possible at the expense of Labour. Provided a Conservative Government is not in a position to introduce tariffs, or to strengthen the powers of the House of Lords, the less the degree of its dependence on outside support, the better will it be, we believe, for government. On the other hand, nothing could be more conducive to a healthy development of British politics than that it should be made plain that such tactics as Labour has pursued during the present year bring it to disaster at the polls. The whole course of the Labour Government during its nine months of office has been determined by the primary aim of destroying the Liberal Party. This statement will not be disputed, we believe, by any serious student of public affairs. The aim indeed has hardly been concealed. The Labour Government when it took office was confronted with two broad alternatives. It could

endeavour to realize to the utmost the opportunities for progress afforded by the balance of opinion in the House of Commons, and leave the question of how far its electoral fortunes would be advanced thereby in the lap of the gods. Or it could use its term of office primarily as an opportunity of propaganda and party tactics, introduce measures designed not to pass but to discredit those who refused to allow them to pass, manœuvre so that the Liberal Party would wear a factious and uncertain air, and seek a dissolution at a moment which seemed favourable to the extinction of its allies. There were important elements in the Cabinet who would have chosen the former course, but these elements did not prevail. One reason for their failure was the sheer incapacity of so many well-meaning Ministers, placed at the head of critical departments, to evolve any constructive policy at all. But the main reason was the calculation, strong in the Cabinet, and stronger still among the rank and file of the party, that Labour had only to hammer once or twice more and the Liberal Party would dwindle and disappear, and leave Labour in undisputed possession of the field as the sole champion of progressive causes.

This is the calculation which Mr. Sidney Webb characteristically prophesies "as an historian" will be fulfilled. It is, we believe, a foolish calculation. But it is important that it should be shown as promptly and as unmistakably as possibly to be a foolish one. It is difficult to predict the final outcome of the three-party system. We feel certain that in its present form, with its concomitant of minority government, it is not destined to endure for long. We are far from convinced that Socialist dogma, which represents to most Labour supporters a convenient excuse for having no policy rather than a living faith, will prove a permanent obstacle to the ultimate co-operation of the bulk of the Liberal and Labour forces. We are deeply convinced that the solution of the social and international problems of the age will require a driving force, an idealism, and a readiness to overcome powerful obstructing interests which cannot be supplied by a Government which rests on Conservative votes as its main foundation. But one thing is certain. With Labour in its present mood, there is no basis for co-operation between Liberalism and Labour. Nor is that mood likely to change if the policy of destroying the Liberal Party meets with any measure of success, or indeed unless it is clearly shown that it will recoil upon its authors. It has been right, we hold, in the past for Liberalism to extend towards Labour a considerable measure of unrequited tolerance, for allowance must be made for the natural sectarianism of a new party. But the time for such tolerance has passed. Labour has declared war on Liberalism; it means to show no quarter; it can expect, and should receive, no quarter in return.

The first experiment in minority government has not proved successful. It has entailed a degree of irresponsibility in government, which might well prove disastrous if it persisted for long. It has meant a heightening of the spirit of faction and a loss of interest in considerations of public policy, which has come so gradually as largely to escape our notice. It has led to another result, which has impressed the public more than either of the others,—a third General Election within the space of two years. It is not surprising that the desire to put an end to this plague of annual elections should be uppermost in the minds of many voters, or that the proposal, with this end in view, to fix the life of each Parliament to a definite term of four years, both as minimum and maximum on the Continental model, should be receiving favourable attention. Our instinct,

however, is against this proposal. It is too large a constitutional change to be appropriate as the remedy for what, relatively to the life of the Constitution, is, we are convinced, a very temporary emergency. So large a change, moreover, seems to us entirely unnecessary.

Mr. Asquith was much taken to task last December for repudiating the idea that a minority Prime Minister has a right to a dissolution whenever he wants one. Few critics, however, went so far as to assert categorically that Mr. Asquith's view was wrong. The argument was rather that the constitutional position was not quite clear, and that as the Labour Party, and particularly its leader, had a neurotic tendency to suspect unfair treatment, it would not be expedient for the King to refuse the first Labour Prime Minister the first dissolution which he asked for. Doubtless this consideration helps to explain why Parliament was dissolved this month. But, now that Mr. MacDonald has had his dissolution, it seems to us essential to assert Mr. Asquith's view as the true constitutional doctrine. It is not a question, as we argued at the time, of an ancient prerogative of the Crown. It is a question of the authority of the House of Commons. No dissolution should be granted in the early years of a Parliament, until it has been ascertained that no alternative Government can be formed which will secure the support of the House of Commons. If this principle were clearly asserted, as we should like to see it asserted, by resolution of the House of Commons, we should secure the advantages of fixed-term Parliaments without their disadvantages of undue rigidity. It would be desirable, of course, in either case to sweep away the old statute of Queen Anne, which requires Ministers on accepting "an office of profit" to vacate their seats.

But whatever is done, and however the constituencies vote next week, of one thing we are certain. There will be no General Election in 1925 or 1926; and there is no need for anyone to vote Tory rather than Liberal to avert this contingency. No Prime Minister will venture lightly to precipitate another dissolution. The new Parliament will be a long-lived Parliament. We greatly hope that it will comprise a strong Liberal Party, as the official Opposition, with the power to avert experiments in reaction and to shape the future issues of British politics along rational lines.

COOLIDGE, DAVIS, LA FOLLETTE.

IT would be easy enough to imagine three candidates for the American Presidency who would make a more complete triangle in matters of policy than the three who now occupy the field, for two of them, judged by English standards, are thoroughly conservative. But in the essentials of personality these three could hardly be more strikingly contrasted. They stand respectively for North, South, and West, as the famous three of 1912 did not. The ironic circumstance of that conflict, which first disclosed the possibility of a modern third party in the United States, was that the Western Progressives accepted Roosevelt as their leader, and Roosevelt was a sophisticated New Yorker. There is no such irony in the contest of 1924. The Republican candidate is what the Americans themselves mean by a Yankee. That is to say, he is a product of New England, of Vermont and Massachusetts; a Northern lawyer-politician, who four years ago went to Washington as a stranger. The Democratic candidate is a Virginian, coming from the renowned nursery of Presidents. The Independent candidate is not only the founder of Progressivism, as that word is understood throughout the farming States

beyond the Great Lakes. He is the only political leader from the West who has been able to establish a positive record in legislation and administrative invention. The Presidential election falls on November 4th, six days after our own. It is worth while considering the candidates.

Mr. Calvin Coolidge is, in the politics of our so-called democratic age, the supreme example of a good fortune which seems to be an almost exact balance of calculation and chance. Before 1920 his public life belonged entirely to Massachusetts. It had been notably successful. Mr. Coolidge, it was frequently remarked, had never been defeated, and observers were led to infer that his ambition has been restrained in accord with the belief that a man's reach should not exceed his grasp. From the State Legislature he had risen to the Governorship of Massachusetts, and the general assumption was that if the next stage were membership of the Senate Mr. Coolidge would count himself a happy and satisfied man. Suddenly, in 1919 (the year, as it has been called in America, of the Great Fear), the police of Boston went on strike. The city was given over to lawlessness until, at the end of two days, order was restored by the Mayor, with the aid of an influential Citizens' Committee. The Governor was absent, and he afterwards disclaimed the credit for the breaking of the strike. But the legend of Governor Coolidge as a strong silent ruler had been created. The whole country rang with his hitherto obscure name. He became a Presidential possibility; but, when the Republican nomination was given to Warren Harding, he was content with the Vice-Presidency. Mr. Coolidge saw no reason to think of himself as being extinguished in that office. He believed in his star. The death of President Harding last year opened to him the highest of elective offices, and before he had occupied it three months the American public knew that President Coolidge would be the choice of his party in 1924. His luck has held. The oil scandals, which destroyed the reputation of the Harding Administration, have passed him by. Mr. Coolidge has frequently been in conflict with his party; again and again the Republicans in Congress have repudiated his leadership; but his position has remained substantially unimpaired—with the dominant section to whose main interests he is devoted. He is the one possible Republican candidate: the indispensable champion, with whose specific decisions the majority of his supporters appear to disagree. The Coolidge legend has become an institution, and the President is wise enough not to disturb it. "Keep cool with Cal" is the inspiring slogan of his party. As President Mr. Coolidge can reinforce it by simply keeping quiet in the White House. He is singularly devoid of the popular arts. He need not make speeches; custom prescribes that he should not go on the stump. He can send out the Secretary of State to do the heavy speaking. He can depute Mr. Dawes, of the Reparations plan, Republican candidate for the Vice-Presidency, to go further into the line of fire. It is not with the help of Mr. Coolidge's mistakes that his opponents may hope to win.

Mr. John W. Davis, the Democrat, has not pursued politics with anything like the steadiness of action or purpose that the President has displayed. He had been a member of Congress for some years when he became Solicitor-General in the Wilson Administration; but we may assume that when he accepted, or when he relinquished, the London Embassy, he had thought of the Presidency not much more than any successful American citizen is obliged to think of it. He had, indeed, dug himself into the one career which has hitherto, by the

mass of Americans, been regarded as in itself a disqualification for the White House—that of the corporation lawyer. At the outset of the present campaign, he made a curious public announcement which the Press interpreted as a lofty invitation to be shown why a lawyer occupying his favoured place should risk it for the chances and humiliations of the Presidential fight. There, however, Mr. Davis is—many of his countrymen would say because the party of Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson found itself driven, three months ago, to fall back upon a gentleman and a man of the world. The Democratic candidate is, personally, in a strong position. His candidature has united the Democratic party, which, after Wilson's disappearance, seemed broken and dispirited. All his former competitors in the party are actively engaged in the field on his behalf. The party is unmistakably proud of him. As a candidate, he is highly satisfactory. He is energetic and expansive. He has the right public manner. Incessant journeys and "one-night stands" do not wear him down. His flow of oratory is inexhaustible. Nor is he given to making perfunctory speeches. He has a talent for the formal phrase and the elaborate paragraph: the Southern senatorial liking for a mountainous peroration. None the less is his political position full of difficulty. He is so greatly in favour with the interests compendiously labelled "Wall Street," that the Democrats of the North and West, the historic opponents of the Republican Conservatives, must obviously work very hard in order to "put over" a candidate who, though more liberal in temper, is in opinion on domestic affairs not much less conservative than Mr. Coolidge himself. Nor is Mr. Davis in an easier situation as regards foreign policy. He is for America's immediate entry into the League of Nations. This he proclaimed at the outset, and, although he has not kept up his earlier emphasis of statement, his stand on the League is too definite to be questioned. It affords his Republican opponents their simplest line of attack. They remind Mr. Davis that the Democrats in council turned away from the League of Nations, remitting it to a national referendum which, as everybody knows, cannot be held.

We come into a different atmosphere, and a different range of subjects, when we approach that extraordinary American, Senator Robert M. La Follette, the Independent Progressive. Mr. La Follette is an old campaigner. At regular intervals during the past twelve years he has sought the Presidency from within the Republican ranks. The disappointment of his life came in 1912, when the Western Progressives whom he had educated, if not begotten, turned from him to Roosevelt. A still more bitter experience was his when the United States entered the war, and he, no pacifist, but an implacable neutral, was left to plough a lonely furrow. He is an ageing man, in his sixty-ninth year. Behind him lie forty-five years of political labour and agitation, carried on under a nominal allegiance to the Republican Party. As candidate of the Independent Progressives, not yet welded into a national party, he stands upon a platform that includes the public ownership of railroads and water-power, and just enough of other collectivist proposals to justify the support of the Socialist leaders. But Mr. La Follette is not moved by such things. He is a crusader against monopoly, an evangelist for popular government. When he speaks as a Westerner, without the hampering thought of what the Eastern Radicals may be wanting him to say, he thunders against the monopolist interests and against the political machine which, as he is convinced, has robbed the American people of the simple and direct democracy they should enjoy as an unchanging heritage. His talent

for positive politics has made him the architect of the Wisconsin State Government; the remarkable gifts which have made him what we should call a great private member have given him a unique position in the Senate at Washington; his power as a militant leader of opposition made him the one imaginable leader of the Progressive insurgents in this electoral campaign, which finds the two established parties on the defensive. No one dreams of his going to the White House; but it is evident that there would be little surprise in America if he should win in the West the eight or ten States that would suffice to nullify the popular vote and throw upon Congress the task of choosing the President.

BACKING A WINNER.

(BY A CHEERED COUNTRYMAN.)

O more than happy Liberal candidates in the counties, if they only knew their own good fortune!

Never since Liberalism gave the vote to the labourers have Liberals had more to recommend them to the county divisions. Whether all the Liberal county candidates have realized how well off they are is doubtful. There are Liberal papers and Liberal right honourables who have failed to do so. The right leaflets and posters are probably arriving late on many a rural scene. There is still time, however, to make up for lack of alertness and foresight.

When Liberal headquarters launched the Liberal Land Policy, everyone who studied it expected counter-strokes from Labour and Conservatism. But Labour has not played its cards well, Mr. Baldwin's promised agricultural speech at Taunton was "a frost, a killing frost," and the Land Union's "manifesto" is negligible. It is hardly credible that the Liberal Party should have been allowed to have it all its own way, but so it is.

It is to be feared, however, that there are Liberal candidates who have spent too much of their time in recriminations with opponents on what is past, too much time on topics beyond the interests and immediate understanding of the countryside, and too little in making an attractive display of the Liberal Party's own wares, such as it has not been possible to place before the counties for a generation. Let candidates who now recognize their blunder and would repair it, grasp, even at this late hour, the remarkable character of the new Land proposals, and do their best, by voice and influence and the circulation of print, to press on farmer and labourer the elements of a great scheme of rural reform.

While Conservatives have had to electioneer with minds uneasy at having flung in the ditch their positive cure of Protection and a Pound-an-acre, and have had the cold eye of the labourers on them for having voted against the second reading of the Agricultural Wages Act, the Liberals have been in a position to offer, in the line of Liberalism's acknowledged achievements, a complete Land Policy for Landlord, Farmer, and Labourer, at once pondered, documented, and practical. Some Liberals are no doubt still marvelling that the Liberal Party, so largely urban in character and outlook, and so often remiss in the way in which it has fought the rural constituencies, and failed to make, in its Press, an informed presentation of rural problems, should have the merit of producing a scheme of Land Reform which, pressed as it deserves to be pressed, now and after the Election, and faithfully carried out, will make its mark on our history. Many Conservatives must be groaning over the lack of wit and faith which has hindered their leaders

from hitting on some such non-partisan solution of the rural problem as the Liberals have put forth. Many members of the Conservative Party, as every student of agriculture knows, are personally well acquainted with the causes of rural discontents, and have done a great deal towards meeting them. They must keenly regret that the acumen and the courage shown by the Liberal leaders have not been exhibited by their own chiefs. As the indignant "Spectator" admits, Liberalism has used its brains.

Many a great scheme of reform—Home Rule, for example—has been so full of difficult questions that it has not been easy to argue it in a single speech. The new Liberal Land Policy is a great scheme of reform which has the noteworthy quality, not only of necessity and of obvious justice, but of simplicity. From an electioneering point of view it has the merit that those to whom it is presented can be brought a long way towards accepting it right off. It is common ground that some such basic reform is pressingly needed. No one disputes the fact that thousands of our arable fields in every county are half or quarter farmed. Everyone knows that our farmers—the best of them not to be bettered in the world—are discouraged, not only by the circumstances of the time, but, as we think, by the bad political leading of those in whom they have been accustomed to place their trust. There is no one who denies that our villages are being bared of a skilled and virile population, which—

"When once destroyed, can never be supplied."

It is also agreed that the present landlord and tenant system—an expedient, not a principle—cannot continue indefinitely. Every well-developed agricultural country has had to have its land under the effective control of the men who work it. As for the legal position of tenants, it is well known that both Liberals and Conservatives have tried their hands at strengthening it. Legally, the tenant-farmer is entrenched against an incompetent, harsh, or impecunious landlord in a way which would have surprised his grandfather. Practically, as every rural audience will admit, a tenant-farmer with a dominating, unenterprising, or hard-up landlord, cannot farm as well as he would like to.

What is to be done? A large scheme of buying out landlords would be financially impossible for many a year. Nationalization is equally beyond practical politics. The quick, courageous mind of a countryman-statesman, warmed at the glow of the activities of a body of agricultural students and practitioners whose thoughts have been concentrated on the problem in the light of home and foreign experience, has struck out the admirable and easy solution of Cultivating Ownership. The State simply takes over all the land which is not being farmed by its owners, and, with the rents receivable, pays out the landlords, in a way completely satisfactory to them, with a negotiable annuity for themselves and their heirs, equal to the present net revenues. The farmers, whose sole need is freedom fully to control their land and to utilize all their capital and credit, not on purchase, but on better farming and the requirements of better farming; in equipment and properly paid workers, are given Cultivating Ownership, for themselves and their descendants, subject only to the maintenance of a standard of good husbandry, to be fixed by the best farmers of their district. Occupying owners who bought cheap and want to stay as they are, stay on. Occupying owners who made a bad bargain in buying are relieved of their bargain, because the State is largely responsible for their plight, and it is bad for the community that capital needed for better equipment

and better farming should disappear in mortgage charges. At last the good farmer receives the encouragement that is his due; the bad farmer and the superfluous landlord are got rid of. In the details of the scheme, landlords and farmers are alike protected by a Land Court. It is estimated that a farmer who paid £100 a year in rent will (when he does his own repairs), under Cultivating Ownership, not need to pay more than £85. Under a scheme of State purchase of land, plus the uncommercial value for amenity, sport, and social prestige, he would have to pay something like £125. The plan of the State getting rid of the landlords by the simple and straightforward method of handing over the farmers' rents to them, and allowing them to stay on in their homes and home farms if they want to, and at the same time giving the farmers, in Cultivating Ownership, security and freedom, beyond what even the most enlightened Oxford College can afford its tenants, has a further attraction. It will provide a pool of land—the farms taken from bad farmers and the land coming into hand when farmers, without sons to follow them, relinquish farming—from which small holdings and small farms for enterprising labourers, and additional land for existing farmers, can be conveniently supplied. The Liberal Land Policy not only ensures a sufficiency of land for every man who is minded to mount the ladder from the labourer's garden to a farm, but, by getting the land into the hands of good farmers, and by placing them in a position in which they can farm their best, provides not merely a legislative, but an economically secure basis for good wages. The Liberal Land Policy also makes certain that the financial advantage which farmers are to gain from reduced local and railway rates, from co-operation, and from credit, shall not go into the landlords' pockets, but into the farms. Finally, freed farmers and well-paid labourers will work such a change in our agricultural conditions that the creation of Cultivating Ownership is a perfectly safe financial operation for the State during a period when national recuperation can only be brought about, Conservatives and Liberals are agreed, by a cessation of unprofitable expenditure.

In financial and administrative details, the institution and carrying out of Cultivating Ownership will need the patient and skilful consideration of experts. But the sponsors of the new Policy are understood to recognize this fact. All that country people are asked to approve of at this Election is the sound, fresh principle and the satisfactorily simple outline of a statesmanlike plan.

LIFE AND POLITICS

WARNED by the fate of the election prophets a year ago, the political pundits are preserving a good deal of reticence on the subject of next Wednesday's poll. The general impression is that the change will not be decisive, that there will be a moderate turnover of seats to the Conservatives, that Labour will about hold its own, and that the Liberal representation will suffer some diminution, but that there will be no great swing of the pendulum, and that the balancing factor will still be the Liberal Party. The unopposed returns last year proved to be a perfect forecast of the ultimate result, and in view of this precedent the fact that the new House, so far as it has been elected, consists of sixteen Conservatives and sixteen Labour and Liberal

Members is of some interest. I think it is the general experience of candidates and workers that there has not in recent years been an election fought in such an atmosphere of perplexity. That is especially the case in constituencies in which there is a straight fight between Conservative and Liberal, and in which there is no representative of the Government whose actions were the occasion of the election. As a result of the complexity of the position the character of the struggle varies greatly from constituency to constituency, and the equivocal relations of the Liberals and the Conservatives do not make the task of the candidate less difficult. In one constituency the "pact" is a phantom, in the next it is a solid fact, in a third it hovers between phantom and fact, and in a fourth its repudiation is the first article of both candidates' creeds.

The reference I made last week to the statement current on high authority that there is on record a Cabinet instruction to the Attorney-General to withdraw the Campbell prosecution has been much discussed, and it is significant that no denial of the statement has come from any member of the Government. I return to the matter now, because it is the core of the whole Campbell controversy, and because challenges like that addressed by Sir Alfred Mond to Mr. Henderson obscure the issue. The crucial point is whether on a question of the administration of justice the Cabinet imposed its own decision upon the law officer of the Crown who is constitutionally, and for reasons of the weightiest and most obvious kind, alone responsible for putting the processes of the law in motion. That question will have to be answered, if not before the election on the authority of the Government, then after the election, despite that Government refusal to put the public in possession of the facts. But it is important that the public should be informed on so capital a matter, which incidentally is the cause of the election, before it goes to the poll, and on the strength of later information I venture to repeat my inquiry of last week in more definite terms. Is there not a Cabinet minute on record to the following effect?—

That the Attorney-General reported to the Cabinet on the Campbell case. That he declared that he was prepared to take full responsibility for continuing the prosecution. That if the Cabinet were to decide otherwise he was of opinion that certain reasonable grounds for withdrawing the case could be put forward. That the Cabinet then resolved:—

(1) That the Attorney-General should be instructed to withdraw the case.

(2) That in future no political prosecutions should be initiated except by leave of the Cabinet.

The cause of freedom of speech and freedom of opinion is historically so essential a part of the democratic idea that the rowdiness organized by the Labour Party in some constituencies seems like an outrage to their own creed. The feature is perhaps less widespread than it was a year ago, but there is still much more of it than is pleasant. I hear that Captain Wedgwood Benn is having an extremely rough time at Leith. Up to Monday he had held four meetings without having been able to make his opening speech in the campaign. I do not gather that he is alarmed at the probable effect of this hooliganism. A majority of 6,000 odd is not likely to disappear before methods of political barbarism. On Monday night a Conservative meeting was broken up at Colchester, and at a Conservative meeting at Kensington the same evening the disorder was so violent that the police had to be called in. I cannot believe, putting the

thing on its lowest basis, that this is good electoral business for Labour, and it goes without saying that it must be more offensive to a reputable Labour candidate like Captain Reiss at Colchester than it is harmful to his opponent. But why do not the responsible leaders of the party make a public appeal to their supporters against the pursuit of such discreditable methods? Freedom of speech is surely as important an asset to Labour, which has to rely on the platform rather than the Press for a hearing, as it is to any political body.

It is surprising that the introduction of faith-healing into the apparatus of the Church of England has aroused so little public comment. The fact is probably due to the natural sympathy with the sufferers who hope to find relief through this agency. But it is surely a matter of disquiet to the average Churchman to find so alien a symptom as miracle-mongering breaking out in the Anglican Church, under episcopal blessing. It is not necessary to doubt the occult power of the faith-healer in order to question the wisdom of associating that power with religion or the supernatural. Christian Science has done this with extraordinary success in America, and with some success in this country, but the whole spirit of the Anglican Church has been hostile to miracle-working, and the remarkable development of the idea of auto-suggestion in recent years has tended to give a more or less scientific basis to that attitude. There is sufficient evidence of the influence of mind over matter and of certain individuals over their fellows to justify us in keeping an open mind in regard to that borderland where thought and substance seem to become indivisible, but there is nothing in the philosophy of M. Coué which is not explicable by natural agencies, and the introduction of the supernatural into the Coué experiments at Bradford and Paddington has a flavour of superstition and credulity which the Anglican Church has not encouraged in the past and cannot afford to encourage now. It is not a very long step from the faith-healing blessed by the Bishop of Bradford to the miracles of Lourdes and the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius.

There was a fine delicacy and quietude in the tribute that was paid to the Poet Laureate on Thursday on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. Mr. Robert Bridges is neither a shy man nor a recluse, but he has never sought the limelight, and in paying honour to him without ceremony or the presence of photographers his admirers showed a true appreciation of the man and of his personal tastes. They subscribed for a clavichord, manufactured by Mr. Arnold Dolmetsch, and they arranged that Mr. Dolmetsch should convey the instrument to Mr. Bridges's home at Boar's Hill, Oxford, and there play him some Bach, no one else being present. In this delightful way the most distinguished living Englishmen in all walks of life sent their birthday greetings to one who is esteemed equally highly as a man and a poet. Among the 200 subscribers were Mr. Thomas Hardy, Sir J. M. Barrie, Mr. Bernard Shaw, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Kipling, Mr. A. E. Housman, Sir Henry Wood, Mr. Yeats, and representatives of every branch of the arts and of learning.

I find in musical circles an undercurrent of disillusion in regard to the enormously advertised visit of Galli-Curci. The public expectation aroused by the visit is a tribute to the power of the popular Press to set the whole nation tip-toeing, now to see Charlie Chaplin, now to mob Jackie Coogan, now to hear Galli-Curci,

For months the incomparable quality of Galli-Curci's voice has been the theme of innumerable puffs in the newspapers, and under the influence of this campaign of advertisement the demand for tickets has been unprecedented. Galli-Curci is not responsible for the extravagant anticipations awakened by the activities of promoters and the hunger of the popular Press for a hero or a heroine. She would probably have preferred to come more quietly and to take her honours on her merits. That the claims made on her behalf have been overstated will not be denied by any competent critic of her performances. There is, of course, universal agreement as to the fine qualities of her voice and her great technical gifts, and in her simpler ballad efforts she could not well be bettered. But her achievements in the more exacting selections of her programme at the Albert Hall cannot be said to place her in a class apart. It is bare justice to her contemporaries to say that many of them are certainly not inferior to her, and that more than one might fairly claim to take precedence of her.

* * *

I hear that the Diary of the late Lord Bertie, which is shortly to be published, extracts from which have been appearing in the "Morning Post," and allusion to which was made in these columns last week, is to have a preface in book form from the pen of Viscount Grey. I can only suppose that Lord Grey has committed the indiscretion of writing a preface to a book he has not read. In my reference to the "Morning Post" extracts, I spoke as though Lord Bertie was still living. That was unjust to his memory. Had he been living, it is possible at least to suppose that, though not a very wise man, he would have shown more wisdom than his literary executors have done in publishing his jejune commentaries on the war and the men who figured in it. By the way, a sentence in my note on the subject last week must have seemed a little unintelligible. I did not write "It has the vanity, inconsequence, and irresponsibility of the *father* in a suburban villa." The word I used was "patter."

A. G. G.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE LIBERAL PARTY AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

SIR,—May I congratulate you, not only on your really admirable Russian Treaty Supplement, but on your able exposure during the preceding weeks of the true meaning and results of the proposed Treaty, at a time when the rest of the Liberal Press with a lamentable lack of courage and grasp were trying desperately to hide their head in the sand?

We may now hope, however, that the Russian Treaty is dead and damned for good, and my object in writing to you is to refer rather to what you call the "real economic problem before the British people, how best to overcome the obstacles which obstruct the use of our national savings in the development of Britain."

You advocate in certain directions,—and rightly, no doubt,—the co-operation of State and private enterprise. There are, as you point out, some very important forms of capital development, unquestionably to the economic advantage of the country, which private enterprise cannot undertake, either because the returns are too distant, or because interference with private initiative is now too crippling. But while this policy may be very fruitful, I think we should be shutting our eyes to the true state of affairs to think that it will solve the problem.

It will not for some years at any rate materially affect the state of our great basic industries, *e.g.*, coal, iron and steel, and shipbuilding. I read yesterday in the papers that

Messrs. Swan, Hunter, & Wigham Richardson, the great Tyne shipbuilding firm,

"state that the entire shipbuilding industry is in a worse state than ever before."

"Competition is keener than ever, and foreign shipbuilders, who can build at much less cost than British, are securing the major portion of available contracts. Chinese shipbuilders are even securing orders. Longer hours are worked abroad; output is, therefore, larger, and wages are less."

"British shipbuilders, it is added, cannot combat these prices, and are in a terrible position to-day. Having no orders, their company and other companies have been compelled to close their yards. Those open have little work."

I take it that the picture given by coalowners and heads of iron and steel businesses would be much the same.

Now what it seems to me, as a voter, all-important to know is this. Does the Liberal Party hold that the only real solution of the problem you refer to is to make private enterprise again remunerative, or does it, or a large part of it, hanker after the Labour policy of State Socialism, which, if not in intention, at any rate in effect will be to make it still less remunerative? Many people have a suspicion, which has certainly not been allayed by the attitude of the Liberal Press over the Russian Treaty, that a large section of the Party is not firmly rooted in this respect, and would at any pinch succumb to Socialist or semi-Socialist pressure. As long as the party faces both ways, it will never succeed.

If, however, it does support the first solution, then is it not its prime duty to investigate why in fact our basic industries are languishing, and to have the courage to try and remedy the causes?

Why is it that we can less and less, as it appears, compete with foreign nations? Is it due to some temporary monetary causes abroad; or is it due to the inefficiency of our plant; or is it due to Trade Union restrictions, the dole, strikes, sheltered trades, and Acts of Parliament?

It would be very interesting, for instance, to have a real expert investigation of the costs of building a ship, say, in Messrs. Swan, Hunter's yard, as compared with the cost of building a similar one, say, in Rotterdam or Hamburg. It should not be very difficult from such an investigation to say where the troubles lie. The difficulty would be rather to get any party courageously to face them.

It would appear that Mr. Wheatley and his friends are under no illusions as to the disastrous effects on private enterprise of the present Labour policy. Mr. Wheatley, indeed, is full of glee at the prospect that it will have completely destroyed our industry in five years. He is, however, still more exceptional in possessing sufficient arrogance and ignorance to suppose that he can build up again on an entirely new system what he will have destroyed. Presumably, however, there are few or no Liberals who would take the same risk. If this be so, they must, it seems to me, make the choice. If they do not wish to destroy private enterprise, they must do all they can to assist it. They can never obtain the confidence of the country by half-hearted attempts to curry favour with the Socialists. The extremists will always beat them at that game. Their salvation must lie in the development of an enlightened policy by means of which the private industry and trade of the country can once more be put on a sound basis.—Yours, &c.,

R. H. BRAND.

11, Lombard Street, E.C.2.

October 20th, 1924.

"A FALSE STEP AT GENEVA."

SIR,—Your article of October 11th and your note of October 18th touch upon an aspect of the Geneva Protocol that deserves the most anxious attention. If the Protocol were indeed to serve to stereotype the worst treaties, it would in time disrupt the League. The question is whether a pacific revision of treaties is more likely to take place under conditions which make it almost impossible for the aggrieved party to fight than under conditions where he has a sporting chance of fighting. In the past, war has been the only method of fundamentally altering treaties. The history of Europe is full of treaties imposed by victors, found unendurable, and altered by war. They have been replaced by treaties imposed by a fresh set of victors, in turn found unendurable, and in turn altered by war. Except for the preposterous indemnities which have for so long continued

the disorganization of Europe's economic life, I don't think we can say that the treaties which ended the World War were worse than all other treaties recorded in history; there is little likelihood that fresh treaties, arising out of fresh wars, would be any better; they might be worse.

Perhaps you will say that, although wars may not result in justice, it is useful for a State to have the threat of war up its sleeve, in order to secure justice without actually making war. It seems more likely that the threat of war or preparation for war may induce the dominant Powers to crush the others while there is yet time. They will not dare to let the vanquished arise.

But while this seems to me likely, I think that Articles 11 and 19 of the Covenant need just the same careful exploration and development as the articles which received so much attention at the Fifth Assembly. You seem to err when you write (in your note to Prof. Webster's letter), "so long as treaties can only be altered in the Assembly by a unanimous vote, including that of all interested States. . . ." Treaties cannot be altered by any vote of the Assembly, which by Article 19 can only "advise the reconsideration" of them; but I think it is arguable that the procedure would be the same as under Article 15, par. 10: that is to say, the advice could be given "if concurred in by the Representatives of those Members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other Members of the League, exclusive in each case of the parties to the dispute."

What is wanted is a determined effort on the part of the League to study all possible methods of mediation in disputes of the kinds suggested in Articles 11 and 19 and to induce its Members to consent to the limitations of sovereignty involved.—Yours, &c.,

H. M. SWANWICK.

SIR,—Your article "A False Step at Geneva" and the discussion which it has evoked raise questions which it is essential that both internationalists and their opposites should face. With all respect, it does not seem to me that either Professor Murray on the one side or you on the other are facing them clearly.

In your original article you argued against the Protocol, because (1) in the last resort it made arbitration compulsory in all disputes not otherwise settled, (2) it abolished the right to use war or force as the last resort in settling a dispute not otherwise settled, and, therefore (3) it imposed an obligation on all States to resist the attempt of any other State to upset the *status quo* by force, although it made it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for any State to obtain an alteration of the *status quo* by peaceful means.

I disagree absolutely with your conclusion, and I would support the Protocol, but I do not think that either Professor Murray or Professor Webster faces the evils of this Protocol which you have rightly pointed out.

All the statements in your article, which, I think, I have accurately summarized above, are strictly correct. The Protocol does make arbitration compulsory in disputes which are peculiarly unsuitable for arbitration. It does abolish the right of war. It does provide no adequate means of altering the *status quo*, and yet it imposes an obligation on all States to resist any attempt to alter the *status quo* by force.

No one can reasonably pretend that this is a satisfactory way of ordering international society, but what astonishes me is that you should hold that your alternative is more satisfactory. You argue that to settle a dispute by force, when that dispute is not justiciable, is a more satisfactory way than to settle it by compulsory arbitration. I believe that the whole of history proves you to be wrong. I believe that, if the *status quo* was never altered from now to doomsday, the world would be a better place to live in, and there would be far fewer international injustices in it, than if the *status quo* was most righteously altered by the most just of all just wars.

The Protocol will be the instrument of many international injustices, but certainly not of as many as the pre-war system which made war the final arbiter of the *status quo*, and which, in effect, you ask us to maintain.

Finally, I should like to ask you whether you support the proposal that all justiciable disputes should be compul-

sorily submitted to arbitration. That proposal, if adopted, will stereotype the *status quo*, in the same way, and just as effectively, as the Protocol.—Yours, &c.,

LEONARD WOOLF.

SIR,—I venture to think, in spite of the two brilliant but purely negative criticisms published in your issue of October 11th, that the Protocol on arbitration, security, and disarmament deserves the support of all progressives, not as a thing perfect and standing by itself, but as a compromise, a first step, and an instalment of the great task of organizing the world for peace. Perhaps you will kindly allow me to adduce some reasons for this view:—

(1) The Protocol definitely outlaws "private" war and declares it an international crime. This is surely an enormous moral advance, a great step toward that moral disarmament which alone can ensure lasting peace. If the Protocol goes through it means the beginning of a fundamental change in the attitude of civilized mankind to war. War, from being an institution, a normal and permanent part of international life, becomes a crime, a thing monstrous and horrible. To implement this new principle a system for the peaceful settlement of all disputes has been devised, and a State resorting to war in defiance of its obligation to abide by this system is declared an aggressor, against whom the whole community of nations must act. In essence, the Protocol is an elaboration of Articles XI-XVII. of the Covenant and a re-definition of XVI. Of course the Protocol is imperfect, but if we wait for perfection before starting we shall never start at all. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the Protocol is but the first instalment of a plan for reducing armaments under Article VIII. of the Covenant, and so must automatically be reconsidered every ten years. Framing the Protocol, so far from alienating German and American opinion, has been an important factor in persuading the former to consider the question of admission at an early date, and is making Americans say that if the League shows such vitality and if issues of such importance are being shaped at Geneva, America simply cannot afford to remain aloof. Once America is associated with the League and Germany becomes a member, Russia is bound to come in sooner or later.

(2) "A False Step at Geneva" makes two criticisms, both based on the fear lest the Protocol should stereotype the *status quo*. Now the real danger to-day is not that the League should wax so strong as to become an international tyranny, but that we should fail to make the League a reality at all owing to the persistence of anarchic and predatory nationalism, to the desire of big nations to be free to bully the small, of dissatisfied nations gambling on a cataclysm to snatch all and a bit more than they want, and so forth. Those are the forces, these the dangers against which internationalists must make head to-day, if we are ever to organize the world for peace. When we have taken the first step and created a really strong international authority, then, and not till then, does the problem arise of seeing that this authority does not become a tyranny proscribing all change. By wishing to do everything all at once, you end by advocating that we should do nothing, and actually leave the loopholes for war that exist in the Covenant!

Specifically (a) the criticism of arbitration as a method tending to stereotype the *status quo* rests on a confusion between arbitration and judicial procedure. In League practice the two things are sharply distinguished, and arbitration is a semi-political procedure that might be described as "conciliation by specially appointed individuals," as distinguished from the League Council's method of "mediation by Government representatives." Arbitration comes into play only if the Council fails to give a unanimous report on the question at issue. "Full liberty," says the Politis-Benès report on the Protocol (p. 9), "is left to the parties themselves to constitute the Committee of Arbitrators. They may agree between themselves in regard to the number, names, and powers of the arbitrators and the procedure. It is to be understood that the word 'powers' is to be taken in the widest sense, including *iuter alia* the question to be put. . . . According to the case the arbitrators . . . may fill the rôle of judges giving decisions of pure law or may have

the function of arranging an amicable settlement with power to take account of considerations of equity. . . . Consideration has been given to the possibility that the arbitrators need not necessarily be jurists." (Italics in the above mine.)

(b) It is true that the Protocol leaves revision of treaties where it is left by Article XIX. of the Covenant, instead of elaborating machinery for revision and incorporating it in the general system of peaceful settlement of disputes. I regret this omission and wish our delegation had seen its way to pressing more strongly for some such provision. But the necessity for adding to the Protocol in this sense at some future date—ten years is the maximum period—was very clearly recognized by several delegations, and the Japanese amendment does, in fact, make it possible to discuss considerations of equity. Moreover, it is always open to a State to refer a dispute from the Council to the Assembly and there take advantage of Article XIX. of the Covenant to raise the question of reconsideration of a treaty. I think from the text of Article XIX. it is at least arguable that the Assembly's right to "advise the reconsideration" of treaties is essentially recommendatory in character, and so could be exercised by a majority vote, which is the procedure for passing Assembly recommendations or "*vœux*."

But we are too apt to forget how much can be done to change the *status quo* without technical revision of treaties, in so far as political conditions permit: The one-sided trade agreements imposed on Germany are already expiring, and she will soon regain her liberty as regards aircraft. She can press for the transit arrangements now imposed on her being extended to all nations as part of the system of international transport being developed through the League's Transit Organization. Austrian reparations have practically been abolished, Hungarian reparations have been reduced to a mere fraction of the original sum, and no one believes the Dawes Report is the last word as regards German reparations.

The Saar Basin can come back to Germany in fifteen years from January 10th, 1920, and there is plenty of scope within the terms of the Versailles Treaty to make the Danzig corridor "invisible" and the Danzig régime tolerable for both Germany and Poland. The same applies to negotiations for prolonging or even further "internationalizing" the present economic and minorities régime in Upper Silesia. By a decision of the League Council Austria can be allowed to vote for union with Germany, or Germany's colonies handed back to her as mandates.

The German minorities are already organized internationally, and there is a movement on foot among the various national minorities to form an association, taking their stand on the minorities treaties and demanding that this treaty system be further extended and applied to all nations.

Through the League Health, Transit, and Economic and Financial organizations a good deal has been done already, and a great deal more can be done, to organize the world, and particularly Europe, on international lines.

The Baltic States are forming a Customs union and standing alliance, and have clauses in their commercial treaties making it possible to go even beyond the "most-favoured-nation" clause with their neighbours—i.e., eventually to conclude a Customs union with them.

There is a good deal of talk in Czechoslovakia now about a Danubian economic federation, and this is an idea to which Austria and Hungary have long been converts. Bulgaria and Greece have accepted League Commissioners on the spot to settle their minorities disputes, and it is possible that some similar arrangement may be made between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The present Yugoslav Government is sympathetic to the idea of federalism, and the idea of a South Slav federation as the nucleus for a confederation of the Balkans, or at least for a system of economic union and transit, harbour, and minorities arrangements under League auspices, is a possibility of the future.

These are only a few indications to show that the forces of growth and change in Europe are finding their own paths and have not been arrested either in 1919 or 1924. It is possible, I think, to go a good deal further by a policy of democracy, tolerance, autonomy, and economic arrangements, as well as development of the League, without raising the question of revision of treaties, than we imagine. After all, each of the forty-eight United States and the twenty-two Cantons of Switzerland is sovereign, and its boundaries are fixed, and similarly we may leave sovereignty and frontiers

outwardly intact in Europe, but gradually empty the concept of "sovereignty" of its contents and organize Europe internationally to the point where frontiers cease to matter.

At the same time there is no reason why, on British initiative, the work on development of international law, started by this Assembly, should not include the elaboration of procedure for the peaceful revision of treaties, or at least for making it compulsory to reconsider treaties every ten or twenty years at the initiative of, say, one-third or one-quarter of the signatories. This procedure might be brought into connection with that foreshadowed in Article XIX. of the Covenant, as well as with the provision in the Protocol, permitting the Council or Assembly to discuss a question that has been declared a matter of domestic jurisdiction by the Court.—Yours, &c.,

A LEAGUEITE.

[We shall return to the subject of the Protocol next week.—Ed., THE NATION.]

"THE AMERICAN INTELLIGENTSIA."

SIR,—Mr. Bertrand Russell, as his manner is, packs into his article of October 11th a remarkable number of observations, all of which, or nearly all, he would have no difficulty in supporting by evidence. And yet I am sure that anyone who can speak of intellectual conditions in the United States, from a more continuous experience than Mr. Russell has had, must have read his damaging analysis with a feeling that there is much to be said in the way of supplement and correction.

Mr. Russell is, of course, right in describing the dual pressure upon the colleges of trustees and popular obscurantism as a dangerous tyranny; as he is right about the strength of the spirit of persecution, and the extraordinary absence of individualism in present-day America. Nor is he wrong in believing that, whatever may be the inaccuracies in "The Goose-Step," Mr. Upton Sinclair's assault upon the college system implies a terrifying state of affairs. Mr. Russell admits that the existing conditions may be transitory. He should, I submit, have made mention of more influences than those of industrialism and the new psychology as making strongly for intellectual change.

Members of the American intelligentsia are not given to defending the American system. On the contrary, there cannot be another country in the world where the attack upon national institutions and habits is so insistent and merciless, alike from the conservative and the radical side, as it is to-day in the United States. Mr. H. L. Mencken and Mr. Upton Sinclair are hardly more thoroughgoing on the one side than, say, Mr. Lothrop Stoddard and his allies are on the other. Mr. Russell says that college teachers in America "feel that they have to choose between hypocrisy and starvation." In many cases, doubtless, they have; in thousands of cases they have to be harassingly careful. And yet, in this connection, two facts are indisputable. The first is that America maintains without difficulty its great schools of humanist and scientific culture (from certain great Law Schools and History departments at the one end, to the renowned biology laboratories at the other) which have no need, on any day in the year, to worry about the Fundamentalists or the Ku Klux Klan. The second fact is that, on the whole, the professor of "radical" proclivities has many more opportunities for academic service in the United States than in England.

One further comment I am tempted to make, and it has Mr. Bertrand Russell himself as text. He spent two months last spring in America lecturing. He enjoyed an experience which England could not give him. The demand for his addresses, from colleges and other centres of the intelligentsia, was astonishing. His subjects were mostly of a kind that implied an unpopular doctrine. And yet, as a matter of fact, there was a greater eagerness to hear him than had been displayed in the case of any other English intellectual for many years. That was excellent for Mr. Russell. It must also, I suggest, be taken as a notable piece of evidence in relation to the American mind.—Yours, &c.,

S. K. RATCLIFFE.

NIGHT AND DAY IN ANGKOR

By STELLA BENSON.

IT is surprising that Angkor Vat is very young among the wonders of the world. Even we Europeans, who are generally found to have been blue, hairy hordes at the time of the gorgeous decline of Eastern civilizations—even we had invented trousers and built Westminster Abbey at the time Angkor Vat was built. Angkor Thom—the secular half of Angkor—is a little older, but still not too old for the imagination, as it were, to remember.

For Angkor the forest has taken the place of years. The forest challenges the right of the years to destroy the treasures of men. The trees stand like wild cynical companions among the carved pillars of the temples; a net of weeds has caught the old stone pools; the grass has flowed in like a tide over the paved ways and the feet of gods and monsters; little, soft, cruel plants are strong enough to tilt and tear in two the great friezes, the stone stories that once were a hot, strong excitement in men's minds.

Naga, the snake, is a stone prophecy. The ghosts of the men who linked, by means of Naga's stone body, one pinnacled gateway with another, must know now what they meant, must have seen the fulfilment of their blind prophecy—now that the forest, many-headed, many-mouthed like Naga, has devoured the work of their hands. Naga is only alive by the light of the moon, only by the light of the moon does he dare to boast of the treasure he stole, and to challenge strangers. His monstrous stone body along the broad causeways leads strangers away and away from everything neat and known. *Come along . . . come along, stranger . . . leave the lions throwing out their silly stone chests for the admiration of the crazy palms . . . leave the fish mumbling among the little gold sequins of the weeds upon the pools . . . leave the bats, blurs of silver, swinging and shimmering and mewling against the frosted sky at the top of the broken tower . . . come, stranger, the night is short. . . . Naga's heads are reared at the end of the wide way, arrogantly and finally. Look now, this is my treasure . . . the forest and I conspired to steal it away and bury it. . . . Stranger, would you share it!* The holy place is propped on a precipice of insanely steep steps, so steep that the moonlight shuns the slopes of that fierce hill, and touches only the three proud horns that toes the stars. *Naga, keep your dreadful treasure, strangers must seek it by the safe, transforming light of the sun. . . .*

Day comes up dull and hot, impaled on the horns of Angkor. By daylight, the forest indeed retreats; by daylight the smart reasonable efforts of French preservers and renovators make their effect; by daylight, even the holy place is not too holy to be winked at by the rude eye of a Number Two Brownie. For Brahma is dethroned by the light of the day, and in his place there is kind, placid Buddha, wearing a yellow dress, like a child in its party frock.

Even Naga, by daylight, can look a fool. It seems now that there was an undignified episode in the life of Naga. His humiliation is spitefully bared to the sun in bas-relief along one of the gallery walls.

Naga, one day before history began, went to sleep, coiled carelessly round a mountain, and there was found by a group of idle giants. They divided into two teams, and, taking hold of Naga's head and tail, began a tug-of-war. One imagines poor Naga waking up, and saying:

"Hey, fellers, that's enough—no, I mean seriously . . . this is beyond a joke." One can see that his protests were reinforced from all sides. For the mountain round which Naga had been coiled happened to be the one on which heaven and earth were balanced. The pull to—pull fro of the tug-of-war twirled the mountain this way and that. Seldom are the true gods seen in attitudes of such impotent indignity as in this frieze—thrones reeling, haloes and crowns askew, divine legs and arms spidering in an effort to regain the necessary mystic poise. Really, it might be the twentieth century. . . . The waters under the earth are in still worse case. A crimped chaos vividly expresses the turmoil. Crocodiles, sea-horses, newts, axolotls, and plain whiting are seen bursting in two. The further away from the centre of the disturbance, the less damaged they are, but even when they remain quite intact they are upside down, and their expression—down to that of the smallest eel—well suggests their astonishment and discomfort. At each end of the frieze a company of men, horses, and elephants applauds the heartless game. There are demon coaches, too, with great, shouting mouths and gesturing arms, giving the word: "Pull, boys—p-u-u-ll! . . . Good Lord, what are yer arms made of—treacle? Now, pull like Hell—altogether—altogether, boys—by God, you've got 'em! . . ." One imagines that Naga, living—by daylight—in retirement in a suburb of the Seventh Heaven, can never go into his club without seeing his fellow-members smiling behind their hands, remembering that day. . . .

Round every courtyard the friezes run, and there is excitement and a most childishly told story in each frieze. There is a meeting between two gods, one mounted on a peacock and the other on a goose. The goose-rider is not embarrassed, as you or I might be if we, padding up the Row on the family goose, met a friend on a peacock. I think it is only in the light of ribald modern research that the goose has become a butt and a buffoon. In the old democratic days, before mothers-in-law or twins or seasickness were funny, the goose could hold its beak up with the proudest of birds. The divine goose-mount of Angkor was of the same family as the geese who saved Rome, or the geese through whose tactful chaperonage the lovely goosegirl was enabled to marry the prince. No doubt, after the marriage of their lovely female guardian, the breed of legendary geese degenerated. No god, no king, not even an O.B.E., would really like to be seen on a goose to-day. There is a rhinoceros that walks on in the same scene as the goose and peacock—an unmistakable rhinoceros with pocked and plated skin, pig ears, and the conventional knobbed nose. How did it get there? What Khmer artist could ever have seen so exotic a beast? Was it born of a vision or a traveller's tale? In another gallery is fought the war that Ram fought with the King of Ceylon for the possession of Sita. There are the monkeys, Ram's allies, and there, too, romp the dear elephants; all their elephants bounce in and out of the scraps and tangles of Khmer mythology, dimpled, twinkling, and curly-trunked. This must have been the age of innocence for elephants—gods could be elephants then, and elephants gods. The death of the gods and the birth of the British Empire have bowed their bumpy heads and straightened their *retroussé* trunks.

All round the outer galleries the stone battles sway, and the rippling processions rear their banners in the

striped sunlight that comes between the pillars. But in the high holy place there is no pomp—only dancers dancing. On every inch of pillar and wall the stone dancers dance, dance for the applause of an intrusive, complacent Buddha—who never sees them. There is a brocade of silken stone all around and about the holy place, intricately patterned with passionless faces, crowns, flowers, bodies bent like wheat in a wind, arms and legs that writhe like flames. It is a pattern much more wise than written wisdom. But there is no one to profit by wisdom in the holy place by day. Brahma, who understood, is dethroned. Parvenu Buddha is bored and asleep in the holy place that he usurped with the help of the sun. By day he is safe. By day the dancers are still. Naga, who challenges and devours by moonlight, is a broken stone worm by day, blind to all impertinences under the sun. By night Buddha, lifted high up under the horns of the temple that was never built for him, is forced to know the beauty of the dancers and to hear the terrible accusing echoes of their music. By night he hears Brahma's voice from the forest. Brahma, with his four great stone faces, is an outcast in the forest—a prisoner by day and a conqueror by night. About his throat and his calm eyes the chains of the forest are wrapped; his forehead is a vantage tower for the pert, clucking monkeys, his eyes are blinded by the creeping mosses, and between his lips the gold lizards run.

MAXIMS OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

THE following Maxims are translated from a book published in Holland in 1922 by a Dutch lawyer, Dr. K. J. Frederiks, who collected them from Napoleon's correspondence, official speeches, minutes, directions to Ministers and Departments, and from Memoirs. Some of them may have been uttered for effect, but by far the greater number are taken from actual orders to civil subordinates. A glance at these maxims may persuade some critics of Napoleon to reconsider their judgments.

- (1) I seek positive good and not the ideal best.
- (2) I shall not fall into the error of men of modern systems, and think that by myself alone and by my ideas I am the wisdom of nations. The true wisdom of nations is experience.
- (3) Nations are not governed by words and by expounding principles.
- (4) If there were a monarchy of granite the idealities of economists would suffice to reduce it to powder.
- (5) The federal system is contrary to the interest of great States because it divides their strength; it is very favourable to small States because it leaves them all their natural vigour.
- (6) Fifty men collected together at a time of crisis to make a constitution have not the right to alienate the rights of the people: its sovereignty is inalienable.
- (7) The world is governed by the imagination. The vice of our modern institutions is that they have nothing which speaks to the imagination. Men cannot be governed without it; lacking it, they are brutes.
- (8) To make a stable Government the people must be really represented; then they will support institutions; otherwise they will remain hostile or indifferent.
- (9) Fontanes, do you know what I admire most in the world? The impotence of force to organize anything. There are only two powers in the world, the sabre and the mind. In the end the sabre is always beaten by the mind.

(10) In all countries force yields to civil qualities. Bayonets are lowered before the priest who speaks in the name of heaven, and before the man who commands respect by his knowledge. I told the military men that a military government could not exist in France, unless the nation were brutalized by fifty years of ignorance.

(11) Military qualities are only necessary in certain circumstances; the civil virtues, which characterize the true ruler, have at all times an influence upon public felicity.

(12) I mean to constitute civil order in France.

(13) Military authority is useless and misplaced in civil affairs; don't act like a corporal.

(14) A constitution should be short and obscure.

(15) Constitutions are the work of time; we cannot leave open too wide a path for ameliorations.

(16) Where a Government is weak, the army rules.

(17) Nothing is so tyrannical as a Government which pretends to be paternal; a father's feelings are made for him, they cannot be imitated.

(18) Do not forget that weakness produces civil wars and that energy maintains tranquillity and prosperity in States.

(19) Under a weak Government every institution may become a dangerous instrument.

(20) Take care that authority is felt as little as possible and that it does not weigh unnecessarily upon the people.

(21) Not a centime is to be levied except by law.

(22) Human reason, its development, the development of our faculties, that is the social key, the whole secret of the legislator.

(23) The misfortunes of France are to be attributed to ideology, to that tenebrous metaphysic which subtly inquires into first causes and tries to found the legislation of nations upon them, instead of fitting laws to a knowledge of the human heart and the lessons of history.

(24) A law must limit itself to laying down a general principle. It is useless to try to foresee all cases.

(25) The administration must act instead of deliberating.

(26) Military administration must not meddle with civil administration. If you continue to govern your kingdom with no division of authority, the result will be chaos. (To Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland.)

(27) His Majesty looks upon the administration of the Communes (*i.e.*, Municipalities) as one of the most important for the well-being of his people.

(28) The art of the police is not to see what it is useless to see.

(29) Let them say if they like that the sun goes round the earth, that the tides are produced by the melting of ice, that we are charlatans; there must be the greatest liberty.

(30) I want no censorship, because every publisher is responsible for the books he issues, because I will not make myself responsible for the absurdities which are written, and because I will not allow an official to tyrannize over mind and to mutilate genius.

(31) Liberty of thought is the most important conquest of the age.

(32) I wish you to abolish the censorship of books completely. This country is already sufficiently narrow-minded without its being made narrower.

(33) (*La Bourse*) I wish to hinder no man's industry; but, as I am the head of the present Government of France, I must not tolerate an industry for which nothing is sacred, whose habitual method is fraud and lying, whose object is a profit more immoral than that sought in gambling, which for the least profit would sell

the secret and the honour of the Government itself if it could find a purchaser.

(34) Gambling must either be openly allowed or openly prohibited; the latter course is more in accordance with morals; it must be adopted.

(35) In a country where Justice compromises, there is no longer social order.

(36) The law is for the citizens, and considerations of birth and wealth must never be a motive for making Justice swerve or for granting mercy.

(37) Good laws and impartial tribunals contribute more than anything else to the happiness of the people.

(38) I complain every day of the number of arbitrary acts committed in my name; they ought to emanate from a tribunal.

(39) Every day ought to be marked by a step towards the creation of a general system of finances.

(40) Finances have been the constant object of our meditations. The finances of a great empire should be able to meet extraordinary occasions, even the vicissitudes of the most bitter wars, without having recourse to new taxes, since they bring in little during the first years of their establishment. The most enlightened nations have thought that the only way to fulfil this object was a well-calculated system of borrowing. This method is both immoral and disastrous; it lays taxes in advance upon future generations; it sacrifices to the present men's dearest sentiment, the well-being of their children; insensibly it mines the public edifice and condemns a generation to the curses of those which follow it. We have adopted other principles. We have perceived that what is needed is a large number of taxes which weigh lightly upon our peoples in ordinary times because the amount will be very small, and which will be able to satisfy all the necessities of our treasury in extraordinary times by a mere raising of the amount.

(41) The Emperor considers paper-money as the greatest scourge of nations; it bears the same relation to the moral that the plague does to the physical.

(42) I dislike this conflict of banks in competitively fabricating paper-money. Whatever economists may say, this is not a case where competition can be useful.

(43) The budget is my law; it must be conformed to.

(44) With budgets one could create a world.

(45) Citizen Minister: I am directed by the First Consul to point out to you that the funds for the year IX. must be inviolably applied to the expenses of the year IX.; that any diversion of these funds to liquidate expenses belonging to former years would be an illegal act which would make you liable to all the severities of responsibility.

(46) Every priest who meddles with political matters ceases to merit the regards due to his character.

(47) If the Government once intervenes in matters outside its scope, we shall be brought back to the disastrous times of *billets de confession* (i.e., certificates of orthodoxy), and to those miserable epochs when the parson had the right to scold a citizen for not going to mass.

(48) Our object is to conciliate the belief of the Jews with the duties of Frenchmen and to make them useful citizens.

(49) The Jews are the brothers of the inhabitants of all countries where they are granted not only tolerance but protection; where they are allowed to enjoy all the privileges attached to political and civil life.

(50) Public education, the necessary support of society, is demanded vigorously everywhere. All citizens feel that there is no happiness without enlighten-

ment; that, without talents and without knowledge, there can be no equality but that of misery and slavery.

(51) Only those who wish to deceive the peoples and to govern for their own profit can desire to keep them in ignorance; for, the more enlightened they are, the more persons will there be convinced of the necessity of laws, of the need for defending them, and the more will society be firmly based, happy, prosperous. And if it should ever happen that enlightenment were harmful to the multitude, it could only be when the Government, in hostility with the interests of the people, should hold them in a forced position, or should reduce the lowest class to die of misery; for then there would be more sense in their defending themselves or becoming criminals.

(52) Conscription is a most dreadful and detestable law for families; but it makes for the safety of the State.

(53) Tragedy is the school of great men. It is the duty of sovereigns to encourage and spread it. There is no need to be a poet to judge it; a knowledge of men and affairs, elevation of mind, statesmanship, suffice. Tragedy warms the soul, uplifts the heart, can and must create heroes. In this respect France perhaps owes some of its great actions to Corneille. Were he alive I would make him a prince.

(54) Nobility is a chimera, men are too enlightened to believe that some of them are noble and some are not; they are all descended from the same stock, the only distinction is that of talents and of services rendered to the State: our laws recognize no other.

(55) No social order can be founded upon an agrarian law. The principle of property and of transmission by a contract of sale, donation, or testamentary act, is a fundamental principle which does not invalidate equality. From this principle comes the convention of transmitting from father to son the memory of services rendered to the State. Wealth may sometimes be acquired by shameful and criminal methods. Titles acquired by services rendered to the State come always from a pure and honourable source. Their transmission to posterity is only justice.

Selected and translated by RICHARD ALDINGTON.

THE MASTER-MICROPHONE AND THE ELECTOR.

By J. C. W. REITH, MANAGING DIRECTOR OF THE B.B.C.

OVER a million wireless receiving licences have been issued by the Postmaster-General, and, since it is natural to assume that four or five persons at least are concerned in each licence, the broadcast audience appears to be in the vicinity of five million, though on special occasions a greater number still may fgather. In the present General Election Mr. Asquith, Mr. Baldwin, and Mr. MacDonald have each been given the opportunity of "talking to the country" in a way which was never possible before. No lightning tour, no schedule of public meetings with elaborations of loud speakers in overflow halls, not even, I believe, any number of printed manifestoes, can accomplish as much for any leader or any political party as when, for instance, in a quiet room in London, prefaced by the simple remark "London calling the British Isles," the statesman advances to the little machine and, in his ordinary "across the table" tones, proceeds to address his fellow countrymen or countrywomen to the unprecedented and almost inconceivable extent which broadcasting makes possible.

The microphone into which he speaks, or more accurately towards which he addresses his remarks, is an

innocent-looking affair, though capable of inducing acute alarm. A peculiar expression was once used to describe it. This was when, after a broadcast speech of great interest in the last General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland, the fathers and brethren desired to deliberate in private, and the reporters were accordingly requested to leave. "Now we can continue," said the Right Reverend the Moderator, "unless," he added with an upward glance, "that contraption there is still working." It is well to inquire about it, and it is well that the microphone and its significance in the affairs of men and nations should be carefully assessed. A good deal of attention is being directed to it in these days. It is not unworthy the study of anyone concerned with the new forces which are arising to shape the destinies of the world. I refer to its influence, not to its mechanism, which is of small moment.

In ordinary circumstances microphones are in independent operation in twenty of the largest cities of the British Isles, but for any special occasion, as well as regularly for the communication of news from London, all these centres of broadcasting may be linked together, and any one become the source and centre of interest. The local microphone becomes the master-microphone.

We left the statesman at the point when he stepped up to the little box-like apparatus in the centre of the room. He is probably feeling rather uncomfortable; the situation is so peculiar; it is new to him. It may take him in either of two ways. It may appear farcical. Nobody can be listening at all. The nonchalance of the announcer who introduced him annoys him. Does *he* think it absurd? Or the speaker may realize that the occasion is momentous; that hidden somewhere in the mysteries of the machine is an audience such as he has never yet addressed, greater, perhaps, than the sum of all the multitudes he has spoken to before. And the announcer's easy familiarity at such a solemn moment moves him to envy.

Be it as it may, I believe here is his supreme opportunity in such a crisis as that through which we are now passing—his unique and phenomenal chance. Attendant on his words are the ears of the electors, those on whose choice depends the conduct of the affairs of the State, the focus of his desire at this season, for he surely feels that if he could but gain direct access to them, talk to them quietly at their fireside, he would convince them of the reasonableness and urgency of his claim.

The Broadcasting Company had so far refrained from participation in actual political controversy. At the last Election the microphones had nothing to say other than to voice brief announcements of points from speeches of various politicians, and, of course, election results. But broadcasting is a public service, conducted with all the circumstances, and even a few of the conditions, of a public service, under public control, although with private enterprise. Politics are not normally acceptable as part of an evening programme devoted mostly to music and literature, or to informative and educative addresses. It would also be difficult to preserve the atmosphere of absolute impartiality which is essential. But a General Election is not a normal state of affairs, and at such a time the need for a widespread appreciation and understanding of the critical points at issue is admittedly paramount and vital.

They say that in the old days of limited suffrage, eighty per cent. of the electors were students of politics and exercised the franchise after personal consideration of the policy for which they were voting, as against the policy of the other party. To-day we are told that the proportions are reversed, and that only a small fraction of the electorate could adduce adequate and substantial arguments for their favour. Crowds will follow one leader or the other, attracted by the incidentals and accidentals of his platform, by what they assume or hear others say, and not by what they themselves know or have themselves reasoned.

The means of enlightenment have not kept pace with the extension of the franchise. Whether or not the same systematic effort is made to imbue by accustomed means the new elector, of whatever social or educational status he may be, with the responsibility of his power, as was made in earlier days, is a matter of argument but of no great importance now. It is obvious that such a task is one of great difficulty at least, and probably impossible of achievement along old lines. But new means have suddenly presented themselves. A single voice commands the nation, and, be it noted, the nation at its fireside, in its most unprejudiced and receptive mood. Poll percentages will increase.

With the consent of the Postmaster-General, the Broadcasting Company offered each of the three political leaders a "Broadcast Occasion" in the first week of the Election. They were informed that the facilities of the organization would be given them as, when, and where they each might choose. In other words, the Broadcasting Company offered to put a studio at their disposal in any of the twenty towns where stations existed, or, if preferred, to broadcast one of their public meetings.

Under normal circumstances the microphone so faithfully transmits what is happening, and the broadcast control is so efficient, that listeners in any part of the country may take part in a great meeting almost as if they were actually present. This was demonstrated in the case of one of the public broadcasts last week, but in the other case the orator's style and delivery were unfortunate from the wireless point of view. Personally, I believe that he who elected to come and talk quietly from London was the wise man. Others, disagreeing, may rightly contend that he lacked the enthusiasm and inspiration of a great audience. But he was also free from their interruptions and from the distinct embarrassments and prejudices of doing two things at once, *i.e.*, addressing, on the one hand, a visible audience, which naturally demanded the usual oratorical effects, and which might readily, though unconsciously, divert the speaker from his set purpose; and, on the other hand, an invisible audience deprived of the stimulus of physical presence, intent only on the speaker's words and much more critical of the matter.

I do not imply that personality may not be conveyed by wireless. There is probably the same range of acceptability and effectiveness in wireless as in platform speakers. Conviction can be broadcast. Personality will carry. In general, an invisible audience may be swayed as a visible, but it is less likely to be carried away by incidentals, and the man who broadcasts, be it a literary or scientific lecture, or a story of travel or adventure, must not only have something worth while to tell, but know how to tell it well.

I believe that it would have been an altogether undue limitation of the service which broadcasting should render, had it played no part in this Election. Those to whose care has been committed the conduct of its operations are fully conscious of their onerous responsibilities. Its influence may be as yet but dimly realized, but it will be revealed to those who consider. Apart from its important function of entertaining, it renders high service to the best in music, literature, art, and science, for by that medium the masterpieces of achievement are first introduced to many thousands; loneliness, of whatever cause it be born, is charmed away; the most isolated dweller on moor or in field is brought into touch and kept in touch with the metropolis and the world; the essentials of a sane and manly religion are sent abroad over the land, and in other ways the beneficence of its functions is made manifest.

Obviously strict limitations in the political use of broadcasting and adequate safeguards for impartiality are essential. There need be no fear that the service will become the catspaw of partisan politics.

My particular point here is that the next General Election, if not this one, may be won at the master-microphone. The personality of the leader must be such as will convince the home, and his be the party whose policy will withstand the unbiased criticism of the fireside.

FROM ALPHA TO OMEGA

THE eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries become more and more a popular period for "costume" films. "Beau Brummel" is considerably above the average of American productions, chiefly owing to the remarkable acting of its two most important characters, the "Beau" himself, played by Mr. John Barrymore, and the Prince Regent, who is excellent both in appearance and manners. Mr. Barrymore is particularly good towards the end of the film, when Beau Brummel is living in exile and poverty at Calais. Apart from one or two of the solecisms which no American film dealing with English life ever lacks—such as the American method of eating employed by all the guests at the Prince Regent's banquet, and the architecture of the heroine's London house, which resembles a Victorian Gothic country mansion—the production is good and tolerably true to history. Nor is it spoilt by unnecessary sentimentality, except at the very end, where the producer lacked courage for a really tragic ending, and united (by double photography) the departed spirits of the hero and heroine. But the film has many good points, and the interest is well kept up.

The Magnasco Society is holding its first (loan) exhibition at Messrs. Agnew's galleries in Old Bond Street. This society has been formed recently to promote interest in seventeenth and eighteenth-century "baroque" painting, because, according to the foreword of the catalogue, this period has become neglected owing to the "change in public taste which occurred about the middle of the nineteenth century." But were not Guido Reni and Carlo Dolci the artistic idols of our grandmothers? The exhibition, which consists entirely of Italian pictures, is certainly interesting from the historical point of view, and is good in that it is representative of the period. But it is a period during which Italy produced no great painters. Much of the work of the time is elegant and amusing, but it is almost always dependent on some extraneous dramatic or literary quality. Guardi, the most elegant of all, is, unfortunately, not represented here, but Pietro and Alessandro Longhi, Tiepolo (a good decorator in suitable surroundings, but not a very interesting painter), Salvator Rosa, Ricci, Carlo Dolci, by whom there are two surprisingly good portraits, Caravaggio, Guido Reni, are all present. Of Magnasco himself there are three examples, none of which would lead one to suppose that he was a great painter. The "Romantic Landscape" is a pretty piece of work, but the "Maundy Thursday Sermon" is purely descriptive and has very little artistic merit, while the large "Landscape with Figures," though it has charming things in it, has passages of extremely poor painting.

The opening concert of the second series of Orchestral Concerts for Children was given last Saturday at the Central Hall, Westminster. These concerts are a most excellent enterprise, and deserve the hearty co-operation of all who care for the musical education of children. I should, however, like to make one or two suggestions. In the first place, the concerts are a little long—certainly too long if encores are to be given. Then the arrangement of the programme was rather unfortunate. It is hard on Mr. Quilter to play his Children's Overture after the Unfinished Symphony and the Overture to "The Mastersingers." May I also suggest that the Central Hall is not a suitable place for these concerts? The terrible echo rendered Dr. Sargent's useful explanations almost incomprehensible—"Are two men talking?" asked my small companion—and muffled and obscured the music. In spite of these drawbacks, the children clearly enjoyed the concert, and probably learned from it. The next is to be given on November 15th, at 11 a.m.

The effects of the high costs of printing and publishing are not confined to the private trade in

books. Before the war a complete set of the Government publications known as "Papers of Both Houses" could be purchased for an annual subscription of £20. The largest public libraries all purchased these complete sets, and smaller libraries purchased the most important papers at proportionately low prices, while quite a number of Government publications went free to the Public Libraries. After the war these privileges were drastically cut down, while the cost of Government publications was enormously increased, the increase varying from 30 to 800 per cent. Under such circumstances few Public Libraries could afford to purchase complete sets of papers. The Library Association last year appointed a Special Committee to consider the matter, and the Committee made representations to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Chancellor decided to authorize the issue of Government publications to Public Libraries at half the published price. But the Committee hold that even so the prices are too high for the libraries, and are urging that "the Government should recognize a comparatively small number (about twenty) of the largest Public Libraries in selected geographical areas as 'Depository Libraries' where all Government publications could be freely consulted by the public immediately after publication."

Things to see or hear in the coming week:—

- Saturday, October 25. "Othello," at the Old Vic.
Miss Jean Sterling Mackinlay, Song Recital, at 3.15, at Æolian Hall.
Sunday, October 26. "The Hayling Family," Play Actors, at the Aldwych.
Monday, October 27. Sir Mark Hunter on "The History of English Pronunciation," at 5.30, at University College, Gower Street.
Tuesday, October 28. "The Hour and the Man," at the New Theatre.
Wednesday, October 29. Olive Goff, Song Recital, at Æolian Hall.
A. G. Gardiner on "Thomas Hardy," at Indian Students' Union, at 8.15.
Thursday, October 30. Sammons Violin Recital, at 8, at Queen's Hall.
Ingo Simon, Song Recital, at 9, at Wigmore Hall.
Friday, October 31. Grete Stückgold, Song Recital, at 3.15, at Æolian Hall.

OMICRON.

"ON THE COLD HILLSIDE."

I WALKED alone where once I walked with you;
The privet hedge was silvered o'er
With moonlight and the primrose lay
Blanched by the rising moon.

I heard your step fall lightly beside mine,
I felt your fingers lightly clasp my wrist,
Lightly your breathing sipped the evening air.

We wandered mute down the hushed woodland ride,
And where the copse runs out on to the down
I saw a dog-fox drinking, and stood still,
With finger raised. Three times he barked to the moon,
Then snuffed the air and knew us and was gone.

Smiling, I turned to you, so that our eyes
Might share the secret. But I was alone;
I was alone, smiling upon thin air.
The shadow of a beech fell on the path,
I heard the leaves sigh and I called your name,
And the cries echoed back to me from the hill.

I walked alone where once I walked with you.

GEORGE RYLANDS.

THE WORLD OF BOOKS

TRAVELLERS' TALES.

THE greatest of all travellers was, I think, Herodotus, certainly the most perfect teller of the traveller's tale. In the New Aldine Library Rawlinson's translation of the Second Book, which deals with Egypt, has been published, a finely printed and well-bound volume (Hopkinson, 18s. and £1 15s.). At the same time, Mr. T. R. Glover gives us a really illuminating study of the man and his travels and his times in "Herodotus" (Cambridge University Press, 18s.). Of all the Greeks, Herodotus is the one whom one recalls with the greatest admiration and affection. (It is, perhaps, an interesting fact that whenever I mention the Greeks in this column I always receive a long letter of drastic, if polite, censure from some town in the North of England.) You cannot read a page of Herodotus without seeing that he must have been one of the most personally charming of human beings who has ever lived. Really civilized men are, as I have before remarked, extremely rare in the world's history; Herodotus must be reckoned with Erasmus and Mr. Shaw and a few others among them, and he has the added distinction of being, in point of time, the first really civilized man of whom we have any knowledge. The greatest praise which one can give to Mr. Glover's book—and it is very high praise—is that, while it has the marks of profound scholarship, it succeeds in always keeping vividly before one this extraordinary charm of Herodotus.

* * *

But Mr. Glover does something more than that. Herodotus is really a very curious writer. At first sight he is extremely simple and naïve; actually he is subtle and complex. Mr. Glover brings this fact out very clearly, and also the explanation of it. The idea that Herodotus was a simple-minded traveller who went about in search of travellers' tales is absurd. He was a great artist who conceived the idea of writing this great work on the war between Greece and Persia, a veritable History of Civilization, and who for years went about the world collecting material for his work. But nothing was put into the book which did not fit into the form which Herodotus had quite consciously before his mind. In a sense there are no digressions in Herodotus, because what, on a superficial view, appear to be digressions are, in fact, material to the form which he had so clearly in his mind. This fact is not contradictory to my original statement that Herodotus was the best teller of travellers' tales. He did not travel for travel's sake, but in order to collect material for his history, nor did he write with the object of telling of the strange lands and men and things which he had seen. And yet possibly for this very reason he was the ideal traveller and the ideal teller of tales. He had the Greek restless love of adventure, an insatiable curiosity, a genius for picking out what was interesting and important, the quick and sympathetic sensitiveness without which understanding of strange things is impossible. All these qualities give value and charm to his stories, but what lifts them into a class by themselves is their objectivity. Herodotus is the only traveller who never seems to be thinking about himself, always about what he saw or heard and its relevance to the tremendous canvas of his history.

* * *

The truth of these assertions will become plain if you compare Herodotus with any other traveller, ancient or modern. After reading Mr. Glover and dipping again into Herodotus himself, I fished up out of the great sea of recent publications a handful of travel

books which are certainly far above the average in interest. They were: "Simplicissimus the Vagabond," translated by A. T. S. Goodrick (Routledge, Broadway Translations, 12s. 6d.); "Moritz's Travels in England in 1782" (Milford, 3s. 6d.); "An Irish Peer on the Continent," edited by Thomas U. Sadleir (Williams & Norgate, 5s.); "Memoirs of the Foreign Legion," by M. M., with an Introduction by D. H. Lawrence (Secker, 7s. 6d.). Each of these books can be honestly recommended as being either very amusing or interesting, and it was really a remarkable experience to read them consecutively and chronologically after Herodotus. For you saw the traveller and adventurer in the seventeenth century, in the eighteenth century, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and last in the troubled world of our own days. To begin with the seventeenth century, "Simplicissimus" was a famous book, and it was well worth while translating it. It differs, of course, from the other books in being an account of imaginary and often fantastic adventures, but it can be legitimately included with them because it gives, as its author intended it to give, a picture of the appalling conditions of life in Germany in his own days during the Thirty Years' War. After Herodotus, Grimmelshausen seems to plunge one suddenly into a world where life and art and adventure are all subjected to a barbaric confusion. "Moritz's Travels" is another book which deserved to be resuscitated. Moritz was a German who, in 1782, came and lived for some months in London and then went on a walking tour by himself through Oxford, Birmingham, and Derbyshire. His matter-of-fact account of what he saw and of his adventures gives a wonderful picture of England a century and a half ago. But already you can see the personal, psychological element, which has played such havoc with the modern traveller, creeping in even with the good, simple Moritz. When you come to Catherine Wilmot, who in 1801-1803 travelled in France and Italy with Lord and Lady Cashell, and whose story of her adventures is contained in this new edition of "An Irish Peer on the Continent," the "I" motif dominates the orchestra. Miss Wilmot was a most spirited young lady with a fine literary style, and her letters are fascinating, but oh how far she had travelled from Herodotus! By 1920 and in the "Memoirs of the Foreign Legion" we have travelled still farther. M. M., who killed himself in Malta in 1920, joined the French Foreign Legion during the war, and this book recounts his experiences. The society to which M. M. introduces us is not less barbarous and degraded than that of Simplicissimus; in fact, if one had to choose between the legionaries and the troopers by whom Simplicissimus's house was "stormed, plundered, and ruined" one would probably choose the latter. But what a world of difference between Grimmelshausen and M. M.! It is no longer things and adventures which interest M. M.—what interests him is M. M. himself. The traveller's tale is completely submerged in the psychology of the traveller. Interesting though the book is, it is, in my opinion, spoiled by this fact. If M. M. had written his subjective adventures with the skill and brilliance which Mr. Lawrence shows in his introductory account of his own adventures with the well-known writer N. D. and M. M., one's verdict might have been different. But the truth is that M. M.'s mind is a rather barren country to travel in, and he has not the art which might have hidden its barrenness.

LEONARD WOOLF.

REVIEWS

THE CALIPHATE.

The Caliphate. By Sir T. W. ARNOLD. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 10s. 6d.)

THIS is perhaps the first comprehensive study of the Caliphate—at any rate since the repudiation of the Ottoman Caliphate by the Great National Assembly of Turkey, which has concluded one chapter in the history of the institution and conceivably terminated it altogether. The book is thus of the highest interest from the point of view of current international politics, and it is equally interesting from the historical standpoint, since it surveys the development of the Caliphate from the beginning to the present day and is written by one of the foremost contemporary Islamic scholars, whose learning and exactitude the reader may safely trust to guide him through the intricacies of this fascinating but difficult field of research.

The Arabic word *Khalifa* means "successor," and in this untechnical meaning it occurs a number of times in the Qur'an; but, in spite of all the exegesis applied to these texts by generations of Islamic jurists and publicists, they cannot fairly be construed as consciously foreshadowing the institution to which the name *Khilafat* was afterwards technically applied. Muhammad appears to have made no plans for the future government of the community which he had founded, and the appointment of the first *Khalifa* was an improvisation. Abu Bakr was the successor—not of God upon earth but of God's Prophet—and that not in his prophetic functions (for Muhammad was the last of the prophets) but in his incidental rôle of political ruler. This limitation upon Abu Bakr's functions is important to grasp, since it has applied to every Caliph after him. The Caliph has never been, like the Prophet, a source of religious inspiration, nor even, like the Pope, an inspired interpreter of religious tradition. At most he has been the defender of the faith which he has shared with the community of which he has been the temporal ruler, and whatever may be thought of the piety of the first four Caliphs, the Umayyad Mu'awiyah and all but one Caliph of his dynasty were very lukewarm defenders of Islam indeed. The Umayyads, however, had other sources of power and prestige, for 'Umar, the "successor of the successor," had expanded Muhammad's Arabian principality—a couple of oases with a dependent fringe of pastoral tribes—into a great empire, the sovereign of which was for some two centuries the greatest temporal Power in the world. Thus the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids could afford to leave the care and interpretation of religion to the doctors of the law, and devote themselves to the administration of the Prophet's worldly heritage, and, if we want comparisons, we must compare them with other great temporal Powers like the Emperors of Rome. The Umayyads—standing for an ascendancy of their own nationals, with whom they cultivated free and familiar personal relations, over a vast majority of subject provincials—may be compared with Augustus and his successors in the Principate; while the 'Abbāsids—ruling with despotic authority and Persian pomp a society in which all national inequalities had been levelled in the equal franchise of a common religion and servitude of a common despotism—remind us, on the same analogy, of Diocletian and Constantine, although it is to be noted that even the 'Abbāsids refrained from carrying Caesaropapism to the lengths of a Constantius or a Justinian. The analogy of the Caliphate with the Roman Empire holds, however, from several points of view. For instance, it was nominally an elective office while actually the prize of individuals or families strong enough to seize it and to found dynasties; and, again, in its actual decline into impotency it retained its prestige as a source of legitimate authority. The history of the Caliphate from the close of the ninth Christian century to the catastrophe of A.D. 1258 is a striking parallel to that of the later Roman Empire. Baghdad had its Ricimers and Odovocars, while Turkish adventurers who carved out new realms for Islam in India sought investiture from the Caliph much as Frankish and Burgundian princes sought it from the distant Emperor at Constantinople. Even after Hulaqu had sacked Baghdad and put to death the last 'Abbāsid Caliph who ruled there, the Mamluk slave-sultans of Egypt grafted a puppet-branch of the 'Abbāsid dynasty into their political

system in order to legitimize their rule, and kept up this shadowy succession of 'Abbāsid Caliphs at Cairo until the Mamluk power itself was overthrown in A.D. 1517 by the Osmanlis.

It is at this point that Professor Arnold's most original contributions to the study of the Caliphate begin. The conventional view is that Selim, the Ottoman conqueror of Egypt, caused the last 'Abbāsid puppet of the Mamluks to transfer his shadowy Caliphate to him, and that, in virtue of this transaction, the Caliphate has resided ever since in the Ottoman Dynasty (assuming that they possess the necessary preliminary qualifications for holding it). Professor Arnold maintains that this story first appears in Mouradgea d'Ohsson's "Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman," published in A.D. 1787, and that there is no trace of it or warrant for it in the contemporary Oriental authorities. His analysis of these is masterly—particularly so the inferences he draws from the great collection of diplomatic documents compiled in the third quarter of the sixteenth Christian century by the Osmanli Firidun Bey. He shows that Selim's Ottoman predecessors had assumed the title of Caliph (usually in circumlocutory formulae) for several generations before the conquest of Egypt, and that similar usurpations of the title, in similar form, were being made by the Muslim rulers in all parts of the Islamic world from the time of the Mongol overthrow of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate at Baghdad onwards. Conversely, he shows that Selim and his successors made no special parade of the title after the conquest of Egypt, or gave any indication of any transaction connected with that event which had rendered it their more legitimate or more exclusive property than it had been before, though they did pride themselves, and publicly express their pride, in the protectorate over the Holy Cities which the conquest of Egypt carried with it. The truth was that the Mongol invasion—coming as the "seventh wave" in a series of barbarian irruptions continuing through three centuries—had made an irreparable breach in the continuity of the Caliphate as in that of almost every other Islamic institution. Even after their conversion to Islam the "Turanian" sovereigns of the new principalities which arose, after the great interregnum, in the Turco-Persian zone of the Islamic world (a vast crescent extending from the Balkan Peninsula to Hindustan) regarded it as a greater honour to be descended from Chingis Khan or Timur Lenk or Osman Ghazi than to be the fictitious nominee of the shadowy successor of the Prophet. Mankind had forgotten to look for leadership to an *Amirul-Mu'minin* or an *Imam*, and the Nomad-descended rulers of the Neo-Islamic world omitted to adopt these simple but essential titles of the genuine "successors," and preferred to style themselves *Khalifas of Allah* (διογενεῖς βασιλεῖς) if they affected the title at all.

On this showing it is probable that, if the Neo-Islamic world had been left to itself, the title of the Caliphate, so cavalierly assumed by the Timurids, Osmanlis and their kind, would have vanished into smoke like the Holy Roman Empire of the Carolingians and Ottonids and Hohenstaufens. At this stage, however, Islam came within the orbit of the inquisitive and managing West, which insisted on equating the Caliph with the Pope and endowing him with spiritual power (an attribute which, in real life, no Caliph except the mad and schismatic Hakām had been blasphemous enough to claim). It is a safe rule to substitute *Cherchez le Franc* for *Cherchez la Femme* in interpreting the history of Islamic society during the past 150 years, and so we find the spiritual characterization of the Caliphate making its first appearance in the French and Italian texts of the Russo-Turkish peace treaty signed at Kuchuk Kainarji in A.D. 1774.

What, indeed, was an enlightened eighteenth-century Christian autocrat like Catherine II. to do when she found herself sovereign, by right of conquest, over a Muslim population? Enlightenment forbade her to exterminate or expel them, as "Catholic Majesties" had done a century or two before; but how, again, could she substitute herself completely for the Muslim ruler whom, by right of conquest, she had dispossessed? Qadhis and Muftis could hardly be appointed by a Christian monarch, and the expedient of election by the local Muslim community (which was introduced later on in the Christian Succession States of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans) would not suggest itself until after the French Revolution. What could Catherine do but leave the Qadhis and Muftis of the Crimea to be appointed

T. FISHER UNWIN'S NEW BOOKS.

EVERYWHERE—MEMOIRS OF AN EXPLORER

By A. HENRY SAVAGE-LANDOR. Illustrated. 30s. net.

Mr. A. H. Savage-Landor has written his autobiography, the title of which, "Everywhere," gives an idea of its comprehensiveness. Here he tells his readers not only of his journeys, but also of the many interesting people he has met in the course of his career.

LONDON AND LONDONERS IN THE EIGHTEEN-FIFTIES AND SIXTIES

By ALFRED ROSLING BENNETT. Illustrated. 18s. net.

"Give us the good old days" is an almost universal cry in the busy hustling world of to-day. In this book, Mr. Bennett has recorded some most interesting sidelights on the London of bygone days.

A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE IN 1815

By ÉLIE HALÉVY. Translated from the French. 25s. net.

In this volume of M. Elie Halévy's "Histoire de Peuple Anglais" the reader will find a picture of England in the early nineteenth century where every feature is indeed established by the most accurate and abundant evidence, but which never degenerates into a mere catalogue of isolated facts.

JAPAN FROM WITHIN

By J. INGRAM BRYAN. 15s. net.

This book is the most careful and up-to-date survey of Japan's progress in recent years, based on a first-hand study of sources open to few Occidentals. In this important work the author gives a concise and authoritative account of Japan's Political, Economic, Industrial, Commercial, Moral and Religious conditions and resources, and to indicate her future relations as a competitor with the English-speaking nations.

SOME PIQUANT PEOPLE

By LINCOLN SPRINGFIELD. (Second Impression.) 15s. net.

Mr. Lincoln Springfield, who has been a London journalist for over forty years, and who was for many years editor of "London Opinion," has written his reminiscences which he calls "Some Piquant People." The result is a book which everybody will read and quote.

"Mr. Springfield's book teems with interest and amusement, and is certainly one of the most entertaining of the season."—*The Star*.

"It is not only about piquant people, but it is in itself as piquant a volume of reminiscences as I can remember."—*Daily Graphic*.

"Please do not let them put you off a book which you simply must read."—*The Referee*.

THE RIDDLE OF THE PACIFIC

By J. MACMILLAN BROWN. Illustrated. 30s. net.

Dr. J. Macmillan Brown, the Chancellor of the University of New Zealand, is one of the greatest authorities on the islands of the Pacific, and has spent years of exhaustive study of the Islands, and especially Easter Island, both from an anthropological and archaeological point of view. The book, written for the most part on Easter Island itself, gives a very full account of its features, inhabitants, ancient sculptors, various cults and religions.

"It is a most important and interesting piece of work."—*Daily Mail*.

THE LETTERS OF OLIVE SCHREINER: 1876-1920

(Ready October 31st.)

Edited and with an Introduction by S. C. CRON-
WRIGHT-SCHREINER. Illustrated. 21s. net.

The guiding principles in making the selection have been autobiographical and general interest. Such a selection from so brilliant and powerful a writer with references to the public achievements of well-known persons in literature and in politics, together with comments on great events which occurred during her life, cannot fail to be interesting.

THE ATLANTIC EDITION OF THE WORKS OF H. G. WELLS.
THE LIMITED EDITION DE LUXE issued in 28 volumes.
A full prospectus of this Limited Edition can be obtained
on application to the publishers.

T. FISHER UNWIN, LTD., 1, Adelphi Terrace, W.C. 2.

T. FISHER UNWIN LTD.,
1, ADELPHI TERRACE, LONDON, W.C. 2.



A GREAT NOVEL

Buddenbrooks

THOMAS MANN

Westminster Gazette:

"THOMAS MANN not only occupies a place in German literature comparable to Galsworthy's in our own, but this, his masterpiece, has a broad similarity to the Forsyte books. It has long been an acknowledged classic in Germany... From the former editor of *Simplicissimus* an ironic pen was to have been expected, but the irony which touches *BUDDENBROOKS* appeals less as irony than as inevitability, the fundamental limitation of mere human nature. As a picture of German life in the middle of last century this novel is unique, and though England has had to wait twenty-two years to see it naturalised, it is certain to be recognised not only as a valuable document but as fine literature." Two volumes, each 7s. 6d.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Boy in the Bush. By D. H. Lawrence
& M. L. Skinner 7s. 6d.

FOURTH PRINTING

The London Adventure. By Arthur Machen. 7s. 6d.

SECOND PRINTING

Memoirs of the Foreign Legion. By M. M. Introduction by D. H. Lawrence. 7s. 6d.

SECOND PRINTING

My Musical Life. By Rimsky-Korsakoff. 5s.

The Duenna. By Sheridan. Theatre Edition, with Cover by George Sheringham 2s. 6d.

London:

Martin Secker
Number Five John Street
Adelphi

by the Ottoman Sultan's Sheikhu'l-Islam at Constantinople, as they had been before, while signaling the cessation of Ottoman sovereignty over the Crimea by laying down that the Ottoman sovereign would exercise this patronage, not in his political capacity as Sultan of Rum, but in his "spiritual" capacity as Caliph of Islam? The distinction was foreign to Islamic ideas, and the Crimean experiment was a failure, but the diplomacy of the West had suggested an idea which 'Abdu'l-Hamid exploited most adroitly a century later. With the Frankish instruments of telegraph, newspaper, railway, and steamer, the spiritual Caliphate of this extraordinary successor of the Prophet was preached in all lands, and who knows where it would have ended if the Frankish political dogmas of democracy and laicism had not inspired Mustafa Kemal Pasha to undo the handiwork of 'Abdu'l-Hamid?

ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE.

MR. DE LA MARE IN FAIRYLAND.

Crossings. A Fairy Play by WALTER DE LA MARE. (Collins, 7s. 6d.)

No one can hold a greater admiration for Mr. de la Mare's prose and poetry than I; that is why I am sorry that he should have allowed "Crossings" to be reprinted. It is not worthy of him. Not only in itself is it not worthy, but it is a sad give-away of the methods we were perhaps already beginning to suspect a little. Mr. de la Mare is an exquisite technician, and if at times the devices of his technique became transparent to the student of his art, there was no harm in that; we were happy to analyze the notes along his score, provided the tune preserved the loveliness of its general mystery. But here the machinery is altogether too nakedly displayed. The conjuror's trick loses half its interest once we are shown how it is done. Mr. de la Mare has opened his box of tricks and let us rummage at our heart's content: we are shown the lonely house—"How strangely still the house is, and the cold starry garden"; we are shown the ghostly aunt, the Little People, the moon, the bats, the snow, the voices in the wind, Araby, the dark sailor, the bewitched children; worst of all, we are introduced to the Candlestick-maker:—

"C-M: My name? Who needs a name that is a wanderer? Maybe, if I come again, you will not know me—until I am gone again. It is said the Fables are of my kin, and that my mother was a Dreamer. An ancient family. Older than Babylon; older than Tyre. It is said that a forbear of mine was wont to sit under the blossoming of the Tree of Life and to play on his bassoon in the Garden of Eden. His name, Mammazella, was Romance."

This is painful. It is as painful as the most painful moments of Sir James Barrie. I write feelingly, for I do not like to think of Mr. de la Mare as having feet of clay; and as we love, so proportionately are we cross. Nor can I endure it when he writes like this:—

"Sallie (lifting Ann out): Not cold? Not shivery-shaky all down the spinicums, Mummikins? Quite, quite sure?"

It is Mr. de la Mare himself who ought to feel shivery-shaky all down his spinicums when he contemplates this piece of dialogue. True, it is but a play for children; but there are limits. Or am I taking a musket to kill a butterfly? I think not. There is such a thing as artistic conscience, and it seems to me that Mr. de la Mare has very grievously violated his. Of course, he cannot always escape from his own charm, even when he is apparently most determined to do so, and in little Ann he has a figure who might have found favour with Miss M., and in Aunt Agatha a personage who might congenially have drunk a cup of tea with Seaton's aunt. (How well he understands aunts, by the way, and the sinister aspect of that relationship!) But there are others who, like the Candlestick-maker, are best left to speak for themselves.

I am aware that Mr. Megroz, Mr. de la Mare's biographer and critic, holds a different opinion. Speaking of "Crossings," he says: "Of course, it is not real; such a perfect cottage as Crossings is, to use an idiom, a dream of a cottage. Yet callous must be either reader or spectator of this little play not to be at one with the children during

that blissful holiday in the country." Well, I fear I must be callous indeed. Not that I quarrel with the cottage on the ground that it is unreal; but on the ground that its unreality is unconvincing. It is machine-made.

V. SACKVILLE-WEST.

VERISIMILITUDE.

The Old Ladies. By HUGH WALPOLE. (Macmillan. 7s. 6d.)
The Grub Street Nights Entertainments. By J. C. SQUIRE. (Hodder & Stoughton. 7s. 6d.)

FROM Mr. Hugh Walpole one always expects certain qualities: impressive neatness of arrangement, convincing moderation, appreciation, if not of character, at least of differences in character. These virtues are all to be found in his latest novel. The three old women are indicated firmly but not emphatically; the little occupations and thoughts of old age are seized coolly, without unseemly rapacity; the improbable *dénouement* is brought off without a hitch. Mr. Walpole has rendered his old ladies, one feels, exactly as he wished, with just the right degree of differentiation: sensuous, disdainful, slatternly old Mrs. Payne; simple-minded Miss Beringer, full of timid fears; and Mrs. Amorest, with her courage and her sallies of fun at the hopes which stand between her and destitution. The bizarre climax, in which Mrs. Payne frightens Miss Beringer to death, partly to satisfy her appetite for power, partly for the sake of a piece of amber for which her sensual mind craves, is perfectly credible. Yet the impression grows as one reads that Mr. Walpole's treatment is in some way inadequate; that Mrs. Payne's appetite for power and Miss Beringer's death do not secure their full, artistic effect. Everything is a little undervalued. The death is adroitly managed, but it is managed too easily, as if the author had planned it but had not felt it. It is not really a death, but only a necessary stage in the course of the novel. In "The Old Ladies" Mr. Walpole once more achieves admirable form without sufficient evidence of a serious struggle with his subject-matter to convince us that the achievement is genuine.

Yet it would be unjust to say that the novel is manufactured. Mr. Walpole's characters, situations, and backgrounds are real as he sees them, but he does not see them very profoundly. The result is that everything in the book is less important than it should be. He attains verisimilitude, which is a sort of provisional, calculated truth, but hardly ever the absolute truth of imagination, which, indeed, he seems to dislike. He rests content with the easier effect, not seeking the more difficult; and this by choice, perhaps, as much as by necessity. These easier effects he can handle exquisitely, avoiding triviality and monotony. But the continual watchfulness, the constant necessity to remain on the plane of probability, of verisimilitude, which these effects impose, eventually oppress us; for if Mr. Walpole seldom falls short of probability, he never transcends it, even in scenes which might have inspired him. He gives one the impression that he never goes so far as he should, because his craft is the chief thing to him, and he circumscribes himself as an artist to provide the most perfect conditions for it. Accordingly, the theme and the architecture of "The Old Ladies" produce the same effect as those of his other novels: the regret that, with these promises of greatness, the whole should not be great. One recognizes the author's admirable mastery of his craft, but one suspects at the same time that what he describes is not life, but something very like it and parallel to it. His fine ease has been gained partly by avoiding, not without tact, the artist's struggle with his subject-matter. Life is, at best, the point of reference of his characters; it is not their *milieu*. But, with this reservation, they are as real as Mr. Walpole's persuasive art can make them. His technique and style are as perfect as they could be for their purpose. But his world is one of those which cannot stand an exception which might prove the rule.

Mr. Squire's short stories of literary and journalistic life are quiet, adroit, and, when they intend to be, amusing. They have none of the essential qualities of literature. The characters are well-managed stock figures, the situations essentially farcical or melodramatic; the pathos is sentimental. The best story is, perhaps, "The Golden Scilens," relating how a poor little journalist made twelve million

NECESSARY FOR ALL SERIOUS STUDENTS.

Price 12/6 net. Post free 13/3.

CONTRACEPTION

(BIRTH CONTROL)

ITS THEORY, HISTORY AND PRACTICE.

A Manual for the Medical and Legal Professions and all Social Workers.

By **MARIE CARMICHAEL STOPES, D.Sc., Ph.D.**

Fellow of University College, London.

20th THOUSAND.

Author's Preface.

CONTENTS.

Introduction by Sir William Bayliss, F.R.S.

Introductory Notes by Sir James Barr, M.D., Dr. C. Rolleston, Dr. Jane Hawthorne, and "Obscurus."

- Chapter I. The Problem To-day.
 " II. Theoretical Desiderata—Satisfactory Contraceptives.
 " III. Indications for Contraception.
 " IV. Contraceptives in Use, Classified.
 " V. Contraceptives in Use, Described and Discussed.
 " VI. Contraceptives in Use, Described and Discussed (cont.).
 " VII. Contraceptives for Special Cases.
 " VIII. Some Objections to Contraception answered.
 " IX. Early History of Family Limitation.
 " X. Contraception in the Nineteenth Century.
 " XI. Contraception in the Twentieth Century.
 " XII. Contraception and the Law in England, France and America.
 " XIII. Instruction in Medical Schools.
 " XIV. Birth Control Clinics.
 Plates I. to IV.

The *Lancet* says: "Much of the evidence contained in the book is quite unobtainable elsewhere."

The *Woman's Leader* says: "Will meet a demand of which many people are at present fully conscious."

The *Nation* says: "Of a high order of merit... Will meet with opposition only from those who desire to suppress the facts."

Sir WILLIAM BAYLISS says: "It cannot fail to be of real service."

Dr. ROLLESTON says: "I predict a great success for the work, and I wish to record my thanks to the author for her pioneer work in preventive medicine."

This book is the first manual on the subject, and is packed with both helpful and interesting matter and much that is new and noteworthy.

Order from your Bookseller or direct from the Publishers:

JOHN BALE, SONS & DANIELSSON LTD.
 83-91 Great Titchfield Street, London, W.1.

New Putnam Books**Survival**

A Survey by Sir Oliver Lodge; Viscountess Grey of Fallodon; Camille Flammarion; Sir E. Marshall Hall; Sir Arthur Conan Doyle; David Gow; Prof. Charles Richet; Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton and others. Edited by Sir JAMES MARCHANT, LL.D. 7s. 6d. net.

Death is not the end. Those who have died survive. We can communicate with them from this life; and when we die we shall rejoin them.

School for John and Mary

By ELIZABETH BANKS. The story of two children of prosperous parents educated in a Council School; a plea for democratic education. 7s. 6d. net.

Rain and Shine

By F. W. THOMAS. A new collection of humorous sketches, "Each one breathing of the fresh air and countryside."—*Daily News*. 2s. 6d. net.

Pearls and Savages

By CAPT. FRANK HURLEY. An account of an Expedition in New Guinea. "One of the most enthrallingly interesting records of travel of late years."—*Sunday Times*. 80 illustrations. 31s. 6d. net.

The Blue Peter

By E. TEMPLE THURSTON. The words of the play now being performed at the Princes' Theatre. 3s. 6d. net.

24, Bedford Street, W.C. 2.

OCTOBER THE 7s. 6d.

QUARTERLY REVIEW

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AS IT IS.

JOSEPH CONRAD.

THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN IN AMERICA.

By THOMAS MOULT.

OPERA IN ENGLAND.

IRELAND TO-DAY.

AGRICULTURAL FACTS AND FALLACIES.

By PROF. C. W. ALVORD, Ph.D.

By GEORGE SAMPSON.

THE PERSONALITY OF GEOFFREY CHAUCER.

By GEORGE T. HUTCHINSON.

THE RETURN OF THE TURKS.

SPORT AND SPORTSMANSHIP.

By C. E. LAWRENCE.

By WILLIAM MILLER.

THE GERMAN DISARMAMENT AND AFTER.

By the Hon. and Rev. EDWARD LYTTTELTON.

THE HOUSE OF AIRLIE.

BROADCASTING.

SEVEN MONTHS OF A LABOUR MINISTRY.

By J. C. W. REITH.

LONDON: JOHN MURRAY.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS**MEMORANDUM ON CENTRAL BANKS**

1913 and 1918-1923. 10s. net.

A most valuable survey which should be studied in relation to the Memo. on Currency.

MEMORANDUM ON CURRENCY

1913-1923. 10s. net.

This volume contains the results of the continued study of currency conditions begun in preparation for the Brussels Financial Conference.

Special attention has been paid to the recent currency reforms which have been initiated in a number of countries.

A Complete Catalogue of League of Nations Publications will be sent on request.

Published by

CONSTABLE & CO. LTD.

10-12 ORANGE ST. W.C.2.

P. S. KING & SON LTD.**FOUR YEARS OF FASCISM**

By GUGLIELMO FERRERO. Crown 8vo. 156 pp. Cloth. 7s. 6d.

Translated by Mr. E. W. Dickes from the Italian Edition "Da Fiume a Roma," together with an additional chapter by Ferrero on the recent elections in Italy. The most effective criticism of Mussolini that has yet appeared.

THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF SOVIET RUSSIA

By S. N. PROKOPOVICZ, Professor of Economics in the University of Moscow. Translated by M. STRUVE. Crown 8vo. 230 pp. Cloth. 7s. 6d.

Describes the Bolshevik control of industry in its three phases: (1) anarchic seizure of factories; (2) organised nationalisation, with the attempt to abolish the wage system; and (3) Lenin's new economic policy of capitalism without legal sanctions.

Times Literary Supplement.—"This valuable book contains chapters on the new economic policy, concessions and foreign trade, finance, Budget estimates and execution, real and apparent wages, and allied subjects."

THE NEW HOUSING HANDBOOK

[Ready Shortly.]

By Captain R. L. REISS, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, Vice-Chairman of the Housing Advisory Committee of the Labour Party. Demy 8vo. Cloth. 4s. 6d.

This handbook has been prepared especially to present in a convenient form the main facts with regard to housing, the legislation, including the Wheatley Act, and necessary information with regard to administration, building trade labour, &c. The book contains in an appendix the full text of the Wheatley Act, and the important sections in full of the Chamberlain Act of last year.

Orchard House, 2 & 4 Great Smith Street,
 WESTMINSTER, S.W. 1.

pounds by discovering an original manuscript of "Hamlet." The worst is a study of the conflict in a critic's soul between his conviction that he should damn a book and his knowledge that the author is dying in poverty—a situation which only falls short of sentimentality because it is absurd. The short story is obviously not Mr. Squire's *métier*.

EDWIN MUIR.

TWO YEARS' SAILING.

The River of Life. By JOHN ST. LOE STRACHEY. (Hodder & Stoughton. 20s.)

WHEN, in pre-war days, one used to pass the "Spectator's" old office in Wellington Street, with the resplendent white paint that provoked Mr. A. G. Gardiner's reference to a whitened sepulchre, one used to picture the presiding genius within as being a grim compound of country squire, magistrate, and drill-sergeant. It is strange how far astray political prejudice can lead one. Perhaps it is not mere imagination that inspires the fancy that, during recent years, Mr. Strachey's political ideals have mellowed and broadened. But, however that may be, it is obvious that the white-fronted house must always have harboured another Mr. Strachey—an unofficial Mr. Strachey, not only rich in general culture, but full of fun and friendliness. And if anyone wishes to forget the official Mr. Strachey—the prophet of conscription and other noxious things—he could not do better than turn to the other Mr. Strachey who reveals himself so frankly and pleasantly in this "log-book" of two years' sailing along the River of Life.

Mr. Strachey's river flows through variegated country, and the barque of his mind, whose voyage is recorded in this diary, is seen now to be gliding happily through stately landscape, now navigating the tortuous ravine of fear and suffering, now urged suddenly by the wind of speculation, and now drifting, in the evening light, amid the quiet pastures of meditation and reflection. Mr. Strachey writes, as the spirit moves him, upon subjects as varied as the scenery of Italy, the hesitancy of cats, Jeremy Taylor and widows, the poetry of John Donne, a fog at sea, and the sayings of children: His ideas are seldom arrestingly original or profound, but he has, in the words which he quotes from Shakespeare, the faculty of looking upon the world "askance and strangely." He has the true essayist's individuality, and an immense zest for life; and so vivacious and piquant is his style that he can give glow and gusto even to the plea that North Wales—his "Land of Heart's Desire"—should not be defiled by "the great, ugly, lazy, poisonous dragon of vulgarity, hung round with scales of tin cans, glass bottles, and bits of greasy newspaper":—

"In the matter of Mont Blanc, Monte Rosa, or the Matterhorn, the scale is too enormous and man too puny to make his scratches on the landscape of any vital importance. In Wales a few months' work can utterly destroy some perfect piece of natural beauty. One thumb-mark on a miniature will ruin it for ever. The thumb-marks on the lordly canvases of Tintoretto, Raphael, and Michelangelo are injuries that can be ignored. Hence, I would implore every man who reads these lines, and who from them is induced to go to North Wales, to swear an oath to himself to be a protector of the beauty that he has unveiled. Let him treat the mountains, lakes, rivers, and streams of North Wales as a damsel in distress. Let him play Theseus to her Andromeda."

Gaiety is the prevailing spirit of Mr. Strachey's sailing. But sometimes we are conscious of "that silent and hidden River of Life which underneath follows the surface stream, keeping pace with it all the way, as does the subconscious element in human life." On such problems as spiritualism, inspiration, and immortality, Mr. Strachey drops words of wisdom from an open mind; and when he comes to religion, it is surprising to find him, in whom a strong instinct for dogma and ritual might have been suspected, writing with the simplicity of a Quaker:—

"The religion of Christ they [forms and ceremonies] cannot affect by one hair's breadth. That stands, and will always stand, quite outside their scope and influence. Christ was the first and greatest of anti-Ritualists. The notion that God was to be worshipped not in the spirit but by rule, not from within but by external devices, was to Him utterly abhorrent. Those who thought that religion was ceremonial were to Him the supreme blasphemers. The religion of Christ is a state of being . . . a mood of

power, not a creed; a quickening of the spirit, not a dogma or a doctrine. It is the way, the truth, and the life—a revelation, an inspiration, an opening of the window of the soul, a new sense, a road to a new heaven and a new earth. The Kingdom of God is within us."

This from Mr. Strachey,

"Le directeur
Conservateur
Du Spectateur,"

who used to sit behind the white front of the house in Wellington Street! Truly, character and temperament refuse to run upon the flanged wheels of logic!

"LAND BEYOND."

With Stefansson in the Arctic. By HAROLD NOICE. (Harrap. 7s. 6d.)

MR. NOICE was twenty when he set out on his adventures. In the first chapter we have opposition, disappointment, failure of plans. Everything went wrong. Five dollars in his pocket, and 2,700 miles from home. In the second chapter we find the boy serving before the mast on a whaler. But he had not been long at sea when, whom do you think he met?—This is pure Henty, you must remember, a boy's book, and an absolute thriller, only every word of it is true from start to finish.—Why, Stefansson! This, of course, was quite incredible. It was Stefansson's story that had fired his youthful imagination, and drawn him to the North, and it was Stefansson's fate that had set his parents resolutely against such hare-brained exploits. For Stefansson was dead. "Meet him!" commented the whalers. "Stefansson has grit all right, but meet him—hell's fire! Who but a damn fool would think of meeting him? He's as dead as a doornail."

The Eskimos saw him first, a tiny black speck moving along the beach. Noice was soon up in the rigging. Captain Lane put off in the whaleboat to meet him. "An eager knot of rough, uncouth mariners and fur-clad Eskimos crowded together against the rail and stood transfixed, gazing at the strong, weatherbeaten face of the man——" But Stefansson did not look a bit like a starving Arctic explorer. He was not even hungry. Noice's first impressions were disappointing. "His voice was soft like a woman's, his manners were almost, but not quite, effeminate, his hands were long, white, and delicate, like an artist's. He was tall and slim, not broad and massive; his arms were—just arms—not muscular and brawny as an explorer's arms ought to be." That is a good start; Stevenson could not do better. But wonder follows upon wonder. Stefansson was a man short. And whom do you think the captain of the whaler recommended? Why, Noice! Thus the golden gates of romance are opened. From this early stage to the final chapter we are held spell-bound by a double thread of interest, the Arctic adventure and the personality of the Commander. From the point of view of adventure it is, as we have said, a boy's book, which we can enjoy with a boy's zest in middle age. And the subtler psychological theme is equally absorbing, for there is nothing immature in Mr. Noice's outlook.

At the start relations between Noice and the Commander were not entirely happy. Stefansson had heard that he was "out in search of adventure," and he threw such scorn into the word that he made the boy feel "as if he had been caught reading Nick Carter by a Sunday-school teacher." Adventure, according to Stefansson, is a sign of blundering incompetence. The Arctic explorer has no adventures. The game resolves itself into certain simple rules, which, if followed, render it as safe, and about as exciting, as driving a taxi-cab. Readers of Stefansson's Arctic books will be familiar with this point of view, and probably dismiss it as an attitude, the graceful disclaimer of the man who is opposed to heroics. It is really the axiom of a doctrinaire. Stefansson has made himself believe it; from this and from other cultivated illusions, such as his persuasion that a diet of meat alone is as agreeable as any other, he acquired great strength. Herein, I think, lies the secret of Stefansson's extraordinary single-mindedness, concentration, and staying- and driving-power. He simply does not want the things which keep ordinary men alive. The natural defect of this virtue is that he has a great contempt for those who do.

THE ECONOMIC JOURNAL

The Quarterly Journal of the Royal Economic Society.

SEPTEMBER, 1924.

CONTENTS:

ALFRED MARSHALL, 1842-1924. By J. M. KEYNES.
THE FAMILY ALLOWANCE SYSTEM.

By J. H. RICHARDSON.

SOME PROBLEMS OF TAXATION IN
AUSTRALIA. By Prof. D. B. COPLAND.

THE REPORT OF THE AGRICULTURAL
TRIBUNAL. By J. A. VENN.

INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL INTERESTS IN
RELATION TO SAVING. By C. F. BICKERDIKE.

ROSSEL ISLAND MONEY: A UNIQUE
MONETARY SYSTEM. By W. E. ARMSTRONG.

Price Six Shillings.

London: MACMILLAN & CO., LTD.,
St. Martin's Street, W.C.2.

*Applications for Fellowship to the Secretary, Royal Economic Society,
9, Adelphi Terrace, Strand, London, W.C.2.*

Annual Subscription, £1 1 0. Life Composition, £10 10 0

CAP & GOWN

Editor: H. A. MARQUAND.

In the November Number

**BERNARD SHAW
LLOYD GEORGE**

and others

ON

REPARATIONS.

Price 6d.

Post free from

Magazine Secretary, University College, Cardiff.

"A work of permanent value."—*The Daily News.*
**IS UNEMPLOYMENT
INEVITABLE?**

A non-party study by the group of experts who issued
"The Third Winter of Unemployment." 8s. 6d. net.
MACMILLAN & CO., LTD., LONDON, W.C.2

IN A BOOK SHOP

SEE OUR NEW READING
AND REST ROOM

Our separate departments for beautifully bound
books, second-hand and rare books, book-plates,
and bookbinding. And our—

New Children's Room.

We superintend the upkeep, classification, cataloguing, and
cleaning of private libraries.

We conduct a mail-order and telephone service which gives
immediate and intelligent attention to all orders.

Send for Catalogue

J. & E. BUMPUS

LIMITED

350 Oxford St., London, W.1

Phones—Mayfair 1223 and 1224

By Appointment to His Majesty the King



Kenneth and the Matric.

IT HAS to be admitted with the deepest regret that the strenuous life is not promoted by the Buoyant Chair. It is a foe to study and the application of the mind. It isn't friendly even to intelligent conversation. It encourages grunts of satisfaction and agreement, though it never grunts itself.

THE Buoyant Chair is the product of an intense specialisation on comfort. It is a chair in which a man can unbend to the utmost limits of body and mind. It is intended quite frankly to pamper and indulge a man's muscles, a man's nerves and—through his muscles and nerves—his temper and his mind. It is, in fact, a strong servant of the modern art of letting the world rip and resting while it rips.

BUOYANT

EASY CHAIRS and SETTEES

The name "Buoyant" will be found under every genuine Buoyant Chair and Settee. Most good Furnishing Houses sell Buoyant Chairs at prices from Six Guineas

Buoyant Sales Department

The Buoyant Upholstery Co. Ltd., Sandiacre, Notts.

Stefansson was not understood by the whaling captains, who thought him an academic sort of person, rather a high-brow from the sailor's point of view, bookish, visionary, unpractical, with his head filled with foolish fancies about "living off the country." He never drank, or smoked, or swore, or sang, or hummed a tune, or betted, or played cards. The Eskimos loved him, but he had little in common with the white men of the North. Gonzales, the skipper, said that he didn't know anything practical, such as splicing a rope or using a saw or hammer. "Why, he can't even sharpen his own knife!" Even young Noice began to have his doubts about his winter's meat. But they were soon dissipated. The Commander proved himself a mighty hunter. He might not be able to sew, or tie a sailor's knot, but in all the qualities essential to an explorer he was magnificent. The gradual unfolding of the real Stefansson, the man's bigness and devotion, makes the most absorbing part of the story. Noice and his friend Charley—"he was three years older than me"—spent many long months with the Commander before they discovered that he was human. One of his favourite books was "The Ingoldsby Legends"—surely a good sign! They grew to believe that he had a sense of humour. In the end he became intimate enough to recite poetry to them—his own poetry!

Of course, it was all bunkum about there being no adventure. True, the Commander's polar craft and fanatical observance of the rules eliminated most of the ordinary perils; still, they found themselves in some uncommonly tight places, and were often within an inch of the end of their tether. But Stefansson and chance saved them: Stefansson, probably, more than chance. Even when a hundred and twenty-five miles off shore, on moving ice in an uncharted polar desert, and with but five days' food on hand, and no game to shoot, they knew they would come out all right. The expedition ended, Noice bought a five-eighths interest in the "Challenge." So we leave our hero at the age of twenty-two, having already helped to discover new lands, proudly treading his own quarter-deck, a captain, and the leader of an Arctic expedition. "Contact with Stefansson and his personal interest in my progress had steadied and directed my old love of adventure with scientific purpose." So the boy's dream comes true; and all in two years. The average writer of adventure-books would blush to bring his reader to such a rapid and satisfactory conclusion.

EDMUND CANDLER.

TROTSKY ON LIFE.

Problems of Life. By L. TROTSKY. (Methuen, 2s. 6d.)

Those political thinkers who follow Sir Henry Maine in believing that habit is the principal cement of society will find corroboration of their faith in Trotsky's recent account of the problems of constructive Communism in Russia. Trotsky, who was writing primarily for a select audience of Bolshevik officials, speaks with great courage of the difficulties that lie before the Communist party. "The easiest problem" that confronted the Bolsheviks, he tells us, was that of "assuming power." The task of turning the "unpolitical" mass of the Russian people into active Communists has scarcely begun. A change of heart has not followed a change of system, and the rulers of Russia have still to fight the bad habits of Tsardom. Trotsky enumerates these bad habits: they include vodka drinking, religion, swearing (a relic, he tells us, of feudal relationships), and, most important of all, inequality between the sexes. Moreover, these habits have survived not only Tsardom, but the war, the Revolution, and that "underground mole, critical thought," and have, Trotsky admits, intensified the difficulties by breaking-up family life and corrupting the morals and industry of a large part of the population. He is now concerned, therefore, with building up a new morality, a new culture, a new motive in industry, and a new standard of equality between men and women. He hopes to find the basis of this renaissance in a reconstructed form of family life built upon the ruins of the old.

All this Trotsky sees will take time. "We must not deceive ourselves. The difficulties of educating thousands of new workers in the new ways, i.e., in the new spirit of service, simplicity, and humanity, under transitional conditions and

with preceptors inherited from the past, are great." He does not, however, regard them as insuperable. There are various ways of setting to work. Legislation alone, he knows now, will not change habit. To do that you must first give people the conditions in which better habits may be formed. This the Revolution has done. After this you may encourage the attitude you want by propaganda and by example, and so move people "to create deliberately and consciously a new life." So now it is time to dispose of the "superstition," as Trotsky calls it, of a merely "class culture." A new literature which has the old rational outlook and universal quality of the bourgeois pre-revolutionary criticism must be encouraged, and new technical books must be provided which have the merits of the old ones without their capitalistic bias. Above all, Trotsky believes in the cinema as a substitute for vodka and religion. The peasant's taste for ritual and his desire for colour and mystery may be satisfied by brass bands, guild pageants, and State ceremonies on important occasions.

Perhaps the most hopeful thing for Russia lies in Trotsky's admission that the State alone cannot create a Communist society. "In the general compass of the State plan," he says, "there opens up a vast field for the activities of voluntary associations and co-operative units." It seems, indeed, as if the Bolshevik State feels the need of opposition and criticism in order that it may retain its vitality. On the last page appears a curious sentence which Trotsky would surely have been wise to elaborate: "To sum up," he says, "we want initiative, competition, efficiency!" This seems rather a damaging admission, even when we realize that he is only summoning the characteristics of Capitalism to appear within the four walls of the Communist régime. That Communism needed efficiency we have often heard; it has been feared that it might lack individual initiative; but what is to happen to it if it asks for competition?

POSTERS.

The Art of the Poster. By E. MCKNIGHT KAUFFER. (Palmer, £2 2s.)

Advertising and British Art. By WALTER SHAW SPARROW. (Lane 30s.)

Posters and their Designers. By SYDNEY R. JONES. ("The Studio," 10s. 6d.)

THE vast majority of people, if asked their definition of the art of poster-painting, would no doubt say (trying to conceal the fact that they had never given the matter a moment's consideration) that it was, naturally, a branch of the art of painting pictures. With differences, of course . . . and with the disadvantage of having only a limited number of colours at your disposal . . . and the other disadvantage of having to try and please the public, who are known to be difficult in matters of art.

It is exactly this muddled popular conception that has led to the production of so many dull posters—and if a poster is dull it is useless—the aim of which has been this sort of compromise between a poster and a picture. The first thing a poster artist must realize is that he is setting out to do something entirely different from painting a picture. Design is the only element of supreme importance in both, as in any art or craft. Mr. McKnight Kauffer very justly observes this in his book. It does not, however, seem to have been understood by those distinguished Royal Academicians who lately gave their services to the London, Midland and Scottish Railway, and who produced posters of the most odious "local colour" variety. Even Mr. Brangwyn—though his painting is at all times closely akin to the bold decorativeness of the poster—failed nearly as badly as the others, though he produced, at all events, a more arresting result. But then, as Mr. Kauffer again observes with justice, "Bad painters design bad posters . . . good painters have always produced good posters." He cites Herkomer, Millais, and Leighton, as against Daumier, Manet, and Bonnard; other examples might also be given.

Mr. Kauffer's book contains an interesting selection of posters of all nationalities, most of those chosen having some artistic merit. Mr. Sparrow, on the other hand, confines himself to British posters, and has no such criterion with regard to his illustrations. Mr. Kauffer himself is one of

DE RESZKE



THE secret of the growing popularity of the De Reszke Egyptian Blend amongst discriminating smokers lies in its superlative quality, luxurious flavour, rich aroma and exquisite mildness. Why not give this wonder blend a trial?

Egyptian American Tenor
Blend (Virginia) (Turkish)
20 ... 2/- 25 ... 2/1 25 ... 3/2

Sole Makers: J. Millhoff & Co., Ltd.
86, Piccadilly, London, W. 1.

DE RESZKE

"FORTY YEARS ON"

There is a famous Harrow School song which says:—

"Forty years on, growing older and older,
Shorter in wind as in memory long,
Feeble of foot and rheumatic of shoulder,
What will it help you that once you were young?"

It will help you a great deal if while you are young you make provision for age.

If a young man of 25 will put by £10 a year with

THE STANDARD LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY

"Forty years on" he will draw
£536

and the same sum will be paid to his heirs should he die before.

Write for Explanatory Leaflet A.M.I.

to
THE
STANDARD LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY
(ESTABLISHED 1825).

HEAD OFFICE: 3, George Street, EDINBURGH.

LONDON { 110, Cannon Street, E.C.4, and
15a, Pall Mall, S.W.1.

ACTIVITIES OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR THE BLIND

V. School of Massage.



This School is the only recognised Massage School for the Blind in England. The picture shows a masseur at work on a patient in his private clinic. The name and address of a qualified masseur nearest to your residence can be supplied on application to the Institute.

National Institute for the Blind

(Registered under the Blind Persons Act, 1920.)

Patrons:

H.M. THE KING, H.M. THE QUEEN, H.M. QUEEN ALEXANDRA.
Chairman: Captain E. B. B. TOWSE, V.C., C.B.E.

The object of the Institute, the largest institution for the blind in the world, is the care and welfare of the blind from birth to old age. All donations should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurers, National Institute for the Blind, 226, Great Portland Street, London, W. 1.

LIFE ASSURANCE PLUS—!

THE Australian Mutual Provident Society is Mutual.

That is to say, all Surplus, without deduction, belongs to the Policy-holders themselves, and is distributed yearly. Moreover, the Society, established in 1849, has been for many years the largest and most prosperous British Mutual Life Office. Why is this? Because it offers to Assurers the acme of security and profit, and because its satisfied members are its best advertisement. Why are policies with the A. M. P. Society so profitable? Because while its premium rates are below the average, it possesses in a unique degree the combination of high interest earnings, a low expense rate and a favourable mortality experience. The A. M. P. Society should be covering you. You will be sent full particulars on application. Please mention this publication.

EVERY YEAR A BONUS YEAR.

Assets, \$22,000,000. Annual Income, \$7,000,000.
New Ordinary Business for 1923, \$10,225,000.
Cash Surplus (Ordinary Department) divided for 1923, \$1,750,000.

AUSTRALIAN MUTUAL PROVIDENT
SOCIETY. 1849

London Office: 73-76, KING WILLIAM STREET, E.C.4.
W. O. FISHER, Manager for the United Kingdom.



By Appointment.

BULMER'S CIDER

BULMER'S Champagne Cider is evolved from the choicest products of the best orchards by the same prolonged and elaborate process as Champagne. Sparkling, delicious, stimulating, Bulmer's Champagne Cider is specially appreciated by the gouty and rheumatic owing to its low acidity.

Made only by
H. P. BULMER & CO., LTD.
HEREFORD.

London and Export: Findlater, Mackie, Todd & Co., Ltd.,
London Bridge, S.E.1. Provincial Agents on Application.

the few British poster artists who have any originality or artistic sense, and who can avoid the tricks of vulgarity and cheap sentiment into which most of them fall. His influence is undoubtedly beginning to show itself, but still the majority of posters aim at realistic representation, which is not only artistically but practically impossible. It is incredible that anyone can be tempted to visit the seaside resorts which figure in posters of this type. We know that most people, especially Londoners, like to be herded together even on their holidays, but apart from this unaccountable taste the herding-places depicted, if they are anything like the posters which recommend them, must be excessively unattractive. The people who visit them, too, who are often to be seen on the posters, are hardly of a type with which most of us would care to be either associated or compared. But perhaps the British public is not so literal in its interpretations as these artists seem to think.

Mr. Jones's "Posters and their Designers" is, perhaps, the most useful book of the three for those who wish to have simply a large number of reproductions of posters. To begin with, it is cheaper; also it contains more illustrations (some of them in colour, and well reproduced). The letterpress is reduced to a small note at the beginning of the book, and the plates, which show posters of all nationalities, include many American posters, some of them good, of which there are very few to be found in either of the other volumes. Mr. Kauffer's book is selective in principle, Mr. Sparrow's (as regards British posters only) much more comprehensive. Mr. Kauffer deals with the subject from the historical point of view; he traces the poster from its earliest developments, and gives reproductions, not only of eighteenth-century trade cards, nineteenth-century posters, &c., but of the types of drawing from which poster-drawing is, or should be, derived. In these he includes first-century Chinese stone reliefs, Japanese drawings, Byzantine mosaics, Greek vase paintings, and English brasses. Mr. Sparrow does not discuss the matter from such a seriously artistic standpoint; rather he converses, in a bright, facetious style, on the commercial aspects of poster advertising. His book is a pretty complete record of the development of this branch of art in England during recent years.

NOVELS IN BRIEF

Pandora Lifts the Lid. By CHRISTOPHER MORLEY and DON MARQUIS. (Cape. 7s. 6d.)

Certainly this collaboration of two popular American authors for purposes of mirth has resulted in a double portion of laughter. Miss Jane Webster has already prepared us for the exuberant spirits and excessive vitality of the American schoolgirl. Pandora, captain of a band of social reformers disguised as a dreadful secret society, kidnaps a Socialist poet and an elderly capitalist, and brings them to an island in order that they may debate with each other. Those terrible infants, the twins, unfortunately discover hidden treasure in the form of the best Scotch whiskey, to the delight of the capitalist and the distinct annoyance of a formidable gang of "bootleggers." Dangerous, yet laughable, adventures follow fast and furious, but in the end all difficulties are solved with a pleasant modicum of romance, and the terrible box which Pandora had opened with a light heart is safely sealed once more.

Striving Fire. By GERALD CUMBERLAND. (Grant Richards. 7s. 6d.)

In dialogue and scenes the earlier part of this novel of Manchester has an air of too careful staging. Hilary Spain, a wealthy business man; Eileen, his young second wife; Guy, the eldest son, artistic, disowned; Derek, sacrificing his literary desires to the family tradition of business—these characters seem too opposite or contrasted. Eventually, however, Eileen seems, so to speak, to run away with the story, and the movement becomes more spontaneous. Restless, unsatisfied, irritated by the complete kindness of her elderly husband and her stepchildren, intolerant and exacting in her demands for affection, she becomes an extraordinarily true and vivid character. When widowed, she finds expression in emotional religion, but her suicide is too ready-made a conclusion. Mr. Cumberland is most effective when dealing with the friendships between women, preferably spiteful or feline, and sets down realistic or revealing detail with amusing malice. Otherwise, the book is certainly not brilliant.

Somewhere at Sea. By JOHN FLEMING WILSON. (Dent. 6s.)

These twelve sea-stories by the late American writer, John Fleming Wilson, have a fine, constant quality that may be described as masculine, an energetic truth of hard detail, and an enjoyment of storm and difficulty; but, in characterization or in mere plot, they are not always equal. He had an amazing acquaintance with seacraft, and proves the commerce of steam to be as fascinating as the elderly sail. His best stories are the triumph of his technical knowledge. He had a pervading sense of the mystery of the charted seas, but he lacked or underestimated the literary quality in which Conrad excelled—so in "Number 1,100," for instance, the influence of the sea, which he intended to convey, hardly convinces the reader. The "Story of Gunderson" shows that his management of the tender emotions was too conventional. He has been compared to the exuberant Melville, but his virility seems more akin to that of Jack London.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Richard Hakluyt. By FOSTER WATSON, D.Litt. (Sheldon Press. 2s. 6d.)

It is strange that this little volume should be the first devoted entirely to Richard Hakluyt, and stranger still that Hakluyt's solitary composition (for the great "Navigations" was of course a compilation), his "Discourse concerning Western Planting," written in 1584, should have been left to the Americans to publish in 1877. For Hakluyt was more than the first editor of the English travels; he was the first Secretary of State for the Colonies. It was he who foresaw the benefits of "plantations" for our surplus population, and as a refuge for "people forced to flee for the truth of God's word"; he who endeavoured to train sailors in the arts of navigation, and collected from all sorts of obscure sources, often at great trouble to himself, information useful to travellers. Moreover, he was the first to feel that responsibility for the moral and intellectual welfare of the savage which so many English statesmen have professed since. His aim, as he repeated, was not merely profit, but "the saving of the souls of the poor and blinded infidels," the instilling into them of "the sweet and lively liquor of the Gospel." All this is well brought out in Mr. Watson's little biography, and corrects the too purely literary estimate which sees in him chiefly the man who may have inspired Shakespeare, and who has certainly got together some of the finest stories of sea travel in the language.

Smoke Rings and Roundelays. Compiled by WILFRED PARTINGTON. Woodcuts by NORMAN JAMES. (Castle. 7s.)

The best tribute to the worth of Mr. Partington's book is that we found ourselves so entertained by its contents and so spiritually made aware of the soul of tobacco that for a whole hour, engrossed in its pages, we neglected our pipe. The compilation had been made with considerable skill and variety. Poets, historians, memoir writers, and novelists have all contributed the praises or written the life story of the inspired leaf. Thus we learn how it is M. Nicot, French Ambassador to Portugal in 1559, who is immortalized in nicotine; how stealthily the habit first took root under cover, like so many English habits, of its virtues rather than its charms; how "a leaf or two being steeped o'er night in a little white wine is a vomit that never fails in its operation"; how women smoked anciently as much as men; how the weed was banned in the prudish days of Victoria; how cigarettes were first seen in England about 1860; how Van Klæes of Rotterdam smoked nearly five ounces of tobacco every day, and had his coffin lined with the wood of his old cigar-boxes, and his pipe and matches laid beside him—"for one never knows what may happen"—and at that point it became necessary to light up, which pipe, and it was the best of the day, we smoked and dedicated to the erudite Mr. Partington.

Sturdy. By PIERRE CUSTOT. Translated from the French by RICHARD ALDINGTON. (Cape. 5s.)

M. Custot's book is an extremely original one, and it has been excellently translated into English. It is one of the few successful books in which the world is represented through the eyes of an animal. M. Custot is an expert in deep-sea fish, and he gives us the life of a sturgeon and of other denizens of the sea through the eyes and brain of a sturgeon. The knowledge which he thus imparts to the reader of the world in the depths of the sea is extraordinarily fascinating. The book is not entirely successful as a work of art. Occasionally, as in the description of the sturgeon's death, it is really moving, but the "poetry" tends to be a little too poetic and artificial. Despite that, it is, however, a remarkable achievement.

A Valet for £5 a Year

For £5 a year we will care for your clothes better than a private valet could do. We will collect your suits regularly, clean, press and generally overhaul them and keep them looking at their best—at, approximately, half the usual charges. Please write for "Valet Contract" Booklet and detailed particulars.

Achille Serre Ltd.

Head Office: Hackney Wick, E.9.
Branches and Agencies Everywhere.

H.B.T.



Cut for economy

It is the "curious cut" of Three Nuns Tobacco that makes it more economical to smoke than many tobaccos sold at 2d. or 3d. an ounce less. The little discs into which the fine leaf is fashioned ensure slow burning and complete freedom from dust or waste. Therefore an ounce of Three Nuns lasts longer than an ounce of most other brands. Regard well those discs, for in them is wrapped up the secret of Three Nuns economy, coolness and uniform excellence of quality.

THREE NUNS

The Tobacco of Curious Cut

In Packets: 1 oz. 1/2; 2 oz. 2/4

In Tins: 2 oz. 2/4; 4 oz. 4/8

King's Head is similar, but a little fuller

Stephen Mitchell and Son, Branch of the Imperial Tobacco Company
(of Great Britain and Ireland), Ltd., 36, St. Andrew Square, Glasgow
823

1824 Don't let the 1924

5/- LIFEBOAT SINK 5/-

for want of YOUR help TO COMPLETE IT
To maintain the whole Service we NEED this year
1,000,000 contributions of 5/- each.

IN THIS, THE CENTENARY YEAR of the Life-
Boat Service, we have received up-to-date 697,672
Of this sum we have received in the LAST WEEK 24,072

WE MUST GET 302,328 MORE

Will you be "One in a Million" and send YOUR 5/- TO-DAY?

And remember the Life-boats in your WILL

There is no subsidy from the State

LORD HARROWBY,
Honorary Treasurer.

GEORGE F. SHEP, M.A.,
Secretary.

ROYAL NATIONAL LIFE-BOAT INSTITUTION,
Life-Boat House, 22 Charing Cross Road, London, W.C.2

THE CASE AGAINST THE RUSSIAN LOAN

Copies of the Supplement appearing in last
week's issue can be obtained on application to

THE MANAGER,
THE NATION AND THE ATHENÆUM,
5, John Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2

Telephone: Regent 5653.

PRICES FOR QUANTITIES:

1,000 Copies	...	...	...	£3	10	0
500	"	...	...	1	15	0
250	"	...	...	17	6	

Single Copies One Penny.

INVALUABLE TO PARLIAMENTARY SPEAKERS & OTHERS

FINANCE AND INVESTMENT

BANK OF IRELAND STOCK—THE OIL POSITION—TEA.

WE referred last week to the curious position of the Ordinary stock of the Bank of Ireland with regard to the Trustee Act. Further research has revealed much diversity of opinion in well-informed quarters, but we think the following facts, at any rate, are established. The Bank of Ireland Ordinary stock is included in the schedule of securities made available for all trusts (except Scottish) by the Trustee Act, 1893. After the passing of the Irish Free State Act, however, the Committee of the London Stock Exchange made certain alterations in the Official List, including the transfer of Bank of Ireland stock from under the heading of British Funds to the section headed Banks and Discount Companies. This drew a protest in March of this year from the Directors of the Bank of Ireland, who claimed that their stock was still a trustee security and should not have been altered in its position in the Official List. The Committee of the Stock Exchange sought legal advice, and were informed that in view of an Order in Council (No. 405, dated March 27th, 1923) which dealt with the application of the Irish Free State Act, it was doubtful if the Bank of Ireland stock was still available for trustee investments. The Bank of Ireland was informed of this legal advice, and no further action is so far recorded. That the question should remain without definite answer seems most undesirable, and we feel that this is a case in which the Committee of the Stock Exchange would properly earn commendation were it to take appropriate steps to resolve the doubts of trustees. The relevant passage of the Order in Council reads:—

"... references in any enactment passed before the establishment of the Irish Free State to 'the United Kingdom' or 'the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland' or 'Great Britain and Ireland' or 'Great Britain or Ireland' or 'the British Islands' or 'Ireland' shall, in the application of the enactment to any part of Great Britain and Ireland other than the Irish Free State, be construed as exclusive of the Irish Free State, ..."

It needs no excuse to return to the subject of raw materials. The investment markets are, in the long run, reflections of commodity markets, and it is therefore clearly pertinent to consider the economic outlook for oil, tea, and rubber. It will be an event of first importance to investors if it turns out that the price of the crude oil commodity has now touched bottom. There are signs that it has. The prices of Mid-Continent crude oil are now at comparatively low levels, ranging from 75 cents to \$1.25 per barrel, according to quality. The first sign of a change has been a marked fall since the middle of September in the daily rate of American crude oil production—from 2,041,424 barrels to 2,010,000 barrels. The second sign was the announcement of some of the large purchasing companies that they would take and pay for all the production of wells with which their pipelines were connected. Hitherto, they have been taking all, but paying for only half, in order to restrict output. The third sign was a rise in the prices of lubricating oils (October 4th) and in the contract prices of fuel oil at ports along the Atlantic coast. The price of one heavy crude oil has already been advanced. Will other crude oils follow? No immediate or violent rebound in oil prices is to be expected, but the bottom would seem to have been reached in the United States. What will be the effect upon the market in London?

The position of each of the important companies is different, and is worth examining. The Shell group is undoubtedly in a position to take advantage of any turn in the tide. It has consolidated its producing and marketing organization in America, whence the greater proportion of its revenue is presently drawn. Further, the group has a steadily expanding production in Venezuela, and has increased its holdings in the V.O.C. Holding Company, probably to the point of control. (It might conceivably take over this company altogether on terms

favourable to the outside shareholders.) It has strengthened its marketing position in the new Germany, where it has recently acquired the old-established firm of Stern-Soenneborn. There seems good reason to expect that the Shell will be able to maintain its rate of dividend at 22½ per cent. free of tax. The shares have fallen from a top price of 4½ at the beginning of this year, but have of late showed firmness at 3½. At their present price of about 4 the yield is 5½ per cent., free of tax.

In the case of Anglo-Persians the situation is rather different. The dividend to be declared in December is from the year ending March 31st last, during which there was no improvement in the company's trading position. It is, then, hardly probable that the company will increase the rate of dividend of the preceding year, which was 10 per cent. Yet the shares at their present price of about 2½, on the basis of 10 per cent., yield only £3 16s. 6d., subject to tax. If no other test than the rate of earning be applied, the shares of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company are over-valued. But it is known that in respect of the current year more satisfactory trading profits have been made, which means that less money has been thrown away on ventures outside Persia, or on grandiose schemes of development in Great Britain. The possibility of an interim dividend being paid in respect of this year simultaneously with the final dividend in respect of last, must not be ruled out of consideration. Nor would we rule out the possibility of the ultimate sale of the Government's Anglo-Persian shares. There is still some force in the recollection that the Burmah Oil Company and the Royal Dutch-Shell group once bid the Government £3 a share for its Anglo-Persian holding, but the chance of a renewal of the offer at the same price and of its acceptance by the next Government is a hazardous speculation. Considering also the political risk arising out of the Persian Government's uncertain attitude, the dispute with Turkey over Irak, and the disturbances among the local chiefs, we cannot but regard Anglo-Persians at their present price as somewhat speculative.

While the economic outlook for the tea industry generally is more favourable, the speculative character of an investment in any individual tea company is not lessened. Turning first to the statistical position, it is clear that the tea industry is much stronger than it was a year ago. In 1923 there was a surplus of production over consumption of 28,000,000 lbs. To-day, according to the Chairman of Harrisons & Crosfield, production for this year is estimated at 798 million lbs., and consumption at 794 million lbs. The rising tendency in tea prices, as he said, is founded on the conviction that the world consumption of tea is progressively increasing without, at present, a corresponding increase in production. The planted areas will, of course, be extended—capital will be attracted by the profits now being made by producers—but it will take five or six years to affect materially in this way the production figures. Such is the favourable economic outlook for the tea producers of to-day. In these circumstances a speculative investor may reasonably take an interest in tea companies yielding about 10 per cent. on the basis of last year's dividends, and anticipating larger dividends in respect of this year's trading. But he must bear in mind that tea planting is a risky business, only less so than oil-drilling, since a local flood or drought or political disturbance may wipe out any individual producer's profit. For these reasons, and because it is not easy to keep in touch with the factors affecting particular plantations, it is essential to avoid too big a holding in any one company. One final warning we are moved to offer by an inquiry coming through a bank manager. We can think of few worse investments than the Preference issues of tea companies. They share all the risk and none of the profit. With rubber we shall deal next week.

S. R. C.

ng-
ny,
rm
ect
vi-
ave
his
eir
ree

her
is
ich
ing
ny
ar,
ent
nly
the
lo-
wn
ory
ess
ia,
in.
in
vi-
on-
the
res.
the
up
lo-
fer
ext
ing
ru-
ver
we
ice

try
ter
not
is
was
on
ing
for
ap-
tea
the
ing
uc-
l—
de
ect
is
of
tor
ld-
vi-
of
tea
ng,
nce
for
in
ns,
m-
an
can
nce
nd
eal